

# THE ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER.

UNDER THE SANCTION OF

THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

VOL. VI.—NO. LXIV.—NEW SERIES.

APRIL 1, 1851.

PRICE 5d.

THE BRITISH WEST INDIES IN 1850,  
BY JOHN CANDLER AND G. W. ALEXANDER.

(Concluded from page 46.)

VOYAGE TO JAMAICA.

Having now finished our brief and somewhat hasty visit to nearly all the British West Indies, including Guiana, on the coast of South America, we prepared to depart for Jamaica. We left the port of St. Thomas on the 11th of the fourth month (April), 1849, by the fine steam-packet *Trent*, with a large number of fellow-passengers, of various nations, and arrived early the next morning at St. Juan, the capital of Porto Rico, where we landed the mails, and then proceeded on our voyage, coasting the north shore of the island, which is 90 miles in length, by 35 miles broad. The day was lovely, and the sky unclouded. One of our passengers, a bearded Frenchman, came on deck, and observing no awning, vociferated in imperfect English, "There is sun enough to kill an ox." An officer took the hint, the awning was spread, and under its canopy, with a good breeze blowing upon us, we had a prosperous and pleasant passage. A chain of mountains intersect the island from east to west. On the north side of these mountains, and sloping to the coast, are numerous trossach-like hills, richly decked with vegetation, and between them, valleys covered with canes. A broad belt of land, mostly in pasture, studded with timber trees, and having a park-like appearance, extends, in many places, from these hills to the sea. Smoke was ascending, at a distance, from the sugar plantations; and horses and cattle, grazing on the pastures, gave animation to the foreground. The scenery, as a whole, was delectable; but the recollection that we were looking on a country cursed with slavery, and where we knew that many of the poor bondmen and bondwomen were cruelly treated, greatly lessened our satisfaction, and dejected our spirits. At sunset, we passed the last cape of Porto Rico, and early the next morning found ourselves off the coast of Hayti, in the deep bay of the city of Domingo. Another day and night's coasting brought us to Jacmel, where our steamer remained several hours, at about two miles' distance from the port, the tide not allowing her to approach the pier. The captain had on board about ten tons weight of light goods, for the Haytian market; and having no other craft large enough to convey them to shore, he ordered one of the huge life-boats, which serve as covers to the paddle-wheels, to be lowered into the sea, and made it his vehicle of transport. In this the packages were placed, and landed safely. We took advantage of the detention to land also, together with General le Conte de Delva, one of Souluque's new nobility, and his late envoy to Paris; and paid a brief visit to some former acquaintances in the town. Jacmel is a straggling and poor place, of five or six thousand inhabitants, but has some notoriety as a place of trade. A British consul resides there. The mountains of Hayti, on this coast of the island, are abrupt and lofty; and, observed at a distance when at sea, look frowning and gloomy; but they enclose some of the finest landscapes in the world. The shores of the island have little or no cultivation; nothing, in short, to satisfy the eye of the stranger. Leaving Jacmel, we passed the "Isle des Vaches," and soon after came into the open ocean. In about twenty hours we reached the long-wished for shores of Jamaica, where it was our intention to remain several weeks, and landed at Kingston, its capital. The voyage from St. Thomas to Jamaica is about 800 miles, and occupied us four days.

JAMAICA.

Jamaica is the largest, and in point of natural scenery the finest

of all our West India possessions. It has, in round numbers, 400,000 inhabitants, or as many as all our other West India colonies put together. The population is nearly all black, or coloured; as the whites do not form one-twentieth of the whole. The surface of the island is greatly diversified, having the highest mountains in this part of the world. The summit of one of these is 8,000 feet above the sea. It has also some wide savannahs, or plains. Mountains, hills, and valleys abound, and it possesses in many places a rocky, but rich and fertile soil. At one time coffee was extensively grown among the hills, but a long succession of unfavourable seasons, or the natural tendency of the coffee tree to exhaust the soil on which it grows, has induced decay; and this article of commerce can now only be obtained with profit on particular spots, where the trees remain vigorous and healthy, and the berries are fine and of aromatic flavour. The island yields less sugar, in proportion to its area and population, than most of our other colonies; and the cultivation of the cane, from various causes, has much diminished. Jamaica was once, to a considerable extent, a cotton-growing country; but when sugars from the British West Indies had an almost exclusive possession of the home market, and prices were high, the cultivation of cotton gave way to the more profitable staple, and lands of different degrees of fertility, in mountain and plain, were pressed into the service of the sugar planter, often in very unfavourable situations, and at a great distance from a shipping port. Many of the estates so circumstanced had begun to be abandoned before the passing of the Act of Emancipation, and the process has been going on, more or less, ever since. At the time of emancipation the island contained 653 sugar estates in cultivation. Since that period, (including those that were then about to be given up), 140 have been abandoned, and the works broken up. These estates contained 168,032 acres of land, most of it forest or wild, and once employed, in their cultivation, 22,583 labourers. They produced, in the year 1832, 14,718 hogsheads of sugar, and 5,903 puncheons of rum. Since the same period, 465 coffee plantations have been abandoned, containing 188,400 acres of land, cultivated and in wood, and which, in the same year, or previously, had furnished work to 26,830 labourers.

The climate of Jamaica has greatly varied of late years; long droughts are more common than they were formerly, and so much so, that sugar mills, once worked exclusively by water-power, now require the aid of steam machinery to give the same amount of manufactured produce. The fields are generally less fertile from the same cause.

In order to judge, as accurately as we could, of the condition of this very important dependency of the British Crown, we considered it needful to make a tour of a large portion of the island; especially as the circumstances of the labourers vary much in different localities, and according to their different modes or amount of employment. Jamaica is divided into three counties, which are subdivided into a very few large parishes. Some of the parishes themselves are as large as our smallest English counties, and each of them has its Custos, or Lord-lieutenant, and its quota of magistrates, with a separate Court-house, and distinct prisons. In speaking of parishes, therefore, we speak, as in common parlance, of counties. Some of the parishes contain large towns. Falmouth is the capital of the parish of Trelawney; Montego Bay, of that of St. James; and Lucea, of Hanover. Taking Kingston, the capital of the island, for our centre or starting point, we made two long journeys; one to the north and west, of 350 miles in extent; and another to the east, as far as the rich sugar district of Plantain Garden River. We travelled in Jamaica, on the whole, about 500 miles, which



occupied us, including our stay in Kingston, nine weeks. One of us had been on the island before, and had passed the whole of the year 1840 in similar journeys of investigation; by which means we were prepared to compare the present condition of its people with their situation ten years since, and were perhaps, by previous knowledge, the better enabled to form an accurate conclusion with regard to the subjects that came under our observation.

There are no public conveyances in Jamaica, except on a railway of sixteen miles in length, which connects Kingston and Spanish Town. We therefore hired, for the accommodation of ourselves and our wives, two light carriages, with a good pair of horses and a driver to each, depending on such further assistance as we might be able to obtain from our friends in the mountainous parts of the country, where extra horses are occasionally required.

On arriving at Spanish Town, the seat of Government, we waited immediately on Sir Charles Grey, the Governor, who readily and most kindly promised us all the help he could afford in the prosecution of our inquiries, gave us free access to the colonial records, and otherwise showed us much courtesy.

Had we been disposed to judge of Jamaica, as a whole, by the appearance of its two principal towns, we should have formed, at once, a most unfavourable opinion of its condition. The city of Kingston, with 40,000 inhabitants, bears evident marks of decay; and large portions of it, which, a few years since, were destroyed by fire, remain desolate, without signs of restoration. Spanish Town also presents, in some of its streets, an aspect of deep poverty; good houses crumbling to pieces, and others, of a very inferior description, rising in the lanes and suburbs. The estimated value of hereditaments in Kingston, owing to its calamitous fires and a paralysed commerce, has fallen from £1,375,013 in 1841, three years after the abolition of slavery, to £583,324 in 1850! Not far from Spanish Town, on our journey northward, we passed through the Bog Walk, a locality much resembling, in scenery, the river and rocky parts of Derbyshire, near Matlock. The road onwards to St. Ann's Bay, over Mount Diabolo, is highly interesting. From the sides of the hills, and from their summits, nature, everywhere pleasing to the eye, emerges into grandeur and perfect loveliness. Few sights are more gratifying to the traveller than the rich valley of St. Thomas-in-the-Vale, shut in by hills and mountains, with its handsome sugar estates, and luxuriant cane fields. The parish or district of St. Thomas-in-the-Vale is fairly populated, but the condition of the labourers is not very prosperous. Except in cases of sickness, however, or of incapacity to labour, destitution is unknown. Wages are low, not exceeding a shilling per day, and employment is not always to be had. The chief complaint arises out of the system of task-work. A gang of labourers is hired to perform a certain quantity of field work, which requires the toil of some weeks. When the task is finished, and the wages should be paid, the person who employs them brings out his little catalogue of defects in labour performed. In one place, the work was slovenly, the weeds only half rooted up; in another, the hoeing or the digging was not deep enough; and then he goes on to make deductions from the pay, or, if the labourers refuse what he chooses to offer, he delays payment for many weeks together. The labourers have the power to appeal to a magistrate; but they say that they can get no redress from the planter magistrates, who always side with the employer, and they, therefore, never take out a summons against their masters, unless they are sure that a Stipendiary Justice will be present to assist in the adjudication. How far there may be truth in these statements, it is not for us to determine; but the mode of settling for these task-work performances seems very unbusiness-like. Complaints and discontent arising out of it abound in this and other parts of the island. On estates where the wages are paid weekly, whether for task or day work, no such disputes arise, and the planters can generally command as much labour as they want. Some of the work people make money, in addition to wages for field labour, by cleaning the wild coffee and pimento trees, and selling the fruit, when ripe. They also grow small patches of cane, and convert it into sugar at home, after grinding it at a common mill. Pimento has lately increased in value, and some of the owners of abandoned pimento walks were busy in restoring them. The parish of St. Ann, into which we pass from St. Thomas-in-the-Vale, is singularly beautiful. The pens or pastures, chiefly in the interior, are not unlike, and no less beautiful than, our parks in England. The plains situated near the sea in the parish of

St. Ann, and mostly near the town of that name, are covered over with sugar plantations. The adjacent hills are crowned with free villages, where the peasantry reside, and among which their provision grounds are scattered. Day wages are one shilling; but, by task, it is very easy for the first-class labourer to earn something more, especially during crop. In this country, and it is the same pretty generally throughout the West Indies, the women ordinarily perform field labour like the men, and generally earn as much. If a man and his wife both work for wages five days in the week, and they seldom work more, they can, of course, earn ten shillings. This sum, with the produce of their own grounds,—to the cultivation of which, and carrying their surplus to market, they devote one day in the week,—enables them to pay their rent and taxes, and to live comfortably. If the men only work—and the women are not always able to do so, or to leave their families—the means of living prove somewhat scanty. Many of the free villages are planted in very lovely spots, and almost every occupier of a house in these villages can call the dwelling in which he resides his own, with the provision ground adjoining. Besides this, he often hires, at a distance among the hills, a small piece of waste land, of little value otherwise to the owner, for which he pays him a rent varying from 15s. to 30s. an acre. The market for the sale of provisions is often distant ten, fifteen, or twenty miles, and this involves the need of a beast of burden. As soon as he can afford it, he buys a horse, which, for a shilling a week, is suffered to range on the waste land, or he gathers grass for it, and feeds it at tether. A pig or two, and sometimes poultry are kept, and during the season in which the mango trees yield their fruit, the family of the peasant, with his horse, pigs, and fowls, subsist very much on mangoes, which cost him nothing. The houses of these small freeholders are better than cabins on the estates, in which some of the labourers continue to live, but they are in general much smaller than for health and decency they ought to be. They seldom consist of more than two rooms on a ground floor, and an out-house for washing and cooking. The lodging room is consequently very insufficient where the family is large, and boys and girls of all ages must occupy the same floor. Those poor people who have houses of their own complain of the land tax, which we consider is unduly burdensome. The following statistics afford a favourable illustration of the free villages, and of the moral care exercised in regard to them. Sturge Town, St. Ann's,—population, 541; houses wattled and shingled, 103; wattled and thatched, 2; huts with roof resting on the ground, 6; total of houses, 111. Floor of apartments boarded, forty-five; terraced, 163. Families, 113. Parents, 228. Children and unmarried, 313. Children who attend day school, 112. Sabbath school, 200. Copies of the Holy Scriptures, 187. Each house has its separate acre of land, where, in addition to provisions, pimento is frequently cultivated, and in some instances sugar cane. There are also in the village some small wooden mills for grinding the cane, and on almost all the little properties some simple contrivance for expressing its juice. Such villages, built on the summit or slopes of some fine hill, interspersed with bananas and plantains, and shaded by mangoes and bread-fruit trees, have a very pleasing appearance, and greatly enliven the face of nature. The moral condition of Sturge Town is, we believe, superior to most that have not the advantage it possesses of a resident missionary. Sometimes these villages are placed in a narrow valley at the bottom of a hill. We passed one of them in such a situation, called Wilberforce, and could not but think, as we rode by, with what delight that great and good man, after whom it was named, were he living, would have looked down on the cottages it contained, the abodes of a cheerful and contented peasantry, whom, by his exertions and his eloquence, he had assisted to set free. On asking the wife of one of these small freeholders, what the peasantry thought of the freedom they had gained, she replied, "We have more than we deserve, and more than we expected, and are thankful." On the north side of Jamaica, where St. Ann's is situate, in addition to the salaried episcopal ministers, there are several missionaries, sent out by different societies in Great Britain. These missionaries concurred in the opinion, that, not only are the labouring population very well off in regard to their physical condition, as compared with the same class in other countries, but that in the practice of the moral duties they are more exemplary than in some other parts of the island. The day schools in many places languish, owing to the diminished amount of wages received by the labourers, and the reduced sums remitted from England to



the missionaries, applicable to school purposes. In consequence of these circumstances, a considerable number of Wesleyan schools, hitherto principally sustained by the Society, have been recently closed, and nearly a thousand children deprived of the means of instruction which they afforded. The schools under the care of the London missionaries and the Baptists, we were glad to learn, have been generally maintained, but not without much anxiety and difficulty. These schools are unsectarian in their character, and receive no aid from the island chest. They depend wholly on the small sums paid weekly by the children, and on the help afforded by the friends of education in Great Britain, and which help is not confined to one denomination of Christians. We rejoice that such assistance has been afforded to them, and hope that it will be continued. Without it, there is great reason to fear that many of the schools must sink, or be very inefficiently conducted, from want of suitable teachers, and of requisite school materials. The number of children receiving instruction, taking all the schools together, has somewhat fallen off. We observed signs of revival in some quarters, and by the aid that we were able to give out of funds placed at our disposal for that purpose, we hope that not a few of the missionaries will be encouraged to persevere in this important department of their labours.

The spirit shops licensed by the legislature are numerous, and being planted in every highway that leads to a market, and often in the villages themselves, they serve as a lure to the peasantry, both old and young, and inflict a serious injury on morals and civilisation. The young and rising generation should be specially instructed to avoid this fatal snare, and the temptation, instead of being encouraged as it is by the ruling powers, for the sake of revenue, ought at once to be removed. Before quitting the parish of St. Ann, we held an anti-slavery meeting at Brown's-town, among the labourers, who were addressed by one formerly a slave, but now a Christian pastor, in a strain and manner both simple and dignified. This estimable man had received instruction at Calabar, a school or college in the same parish, under the superintendence of the senior Baptist missionary of the island, where coloured young men are educated for the ministry, and as schoolmasters. We visited this college, and examined some of the students, who construed to us passages from the Hebrew and Greek Scriptures, with an evident understanding of their genuine meaning.

Our next stage onward was to the parish of Trelawney, and to Falmouth its chief town, and shipping port. The labourers of this parish raise, on their hired allotments, large quantities of ginger and arrow root, and re-cultivate abandoned pimento groves and coffee patches. The articles thus produced are brought by them, in small quantities at a time, to the Falmouth tradesmen, for sale; as is also sugar, in barrels, or small casks, both for home consumption and exportation. One half, at least, of the coffee now exported from Jamaica is said to be raised by the common people. The black and coloured freeholders of Trelawney are now sufficient in number to return a member of their own to the House of Assembly. They had a majority at a late election, but the returning officer, we were informed, refused forty of their votes, and swamped them. This class of inhabitants is advancing in station and in political power, but the present low rate of wages renders it difficult for them to make fresh acquisitions of land. "From October to January," says one of our informants, "a large number of the labourers of Trelawney are out of work, the estates at that period being easily managed by fewer hands than at other seasons of the year." When the planters complain that they cannot obtain continuous labour, they should remember also that they do not give it continuously. The growth of ginger is increasing, and found to be very profitable. One of the German emigrants lately raised thirteen cwt. of this article from less than an acre of land, for which he obtained £45; but the season was favourable, and the case an extraordinary one. The common return is from £20 to £25 an acre.

From Trelawney we passed through the parish of St. James, and had many delightful rides among the mountains. The hills of St. James, as well as the valleys, have numerous fine sugar estates, the produce of which is shipped from Montego Bay, a handsome town of 6,000 inhabitants. There is, among the peasantry of this parish, a thriving class, who are careful to hoard their savings, and who are anxious to buy land. One of the missionaries told us, that a good estate near his dwelling was expected

to be sold. Some labourers, on behalf of themselves and others of their class, urged him, if possible, to buy it, and placed in his hands the sum of £700, as an earnest of the purchase money. They did not, however, succeed in obtaining it. The small freeholders are numerous on these hills. We happened to be present at a central meeting of four Baptist churches, under the care of one missionary, to which the people came for many miles round; we found on the premises, ranging, and at tether, 280 horses, on which as many black and coloured people, nearly all of them lately slaves, had ridden to attend it! Here we see the fruits of emancipation—which a pro-slavery press delights to represent as a failure—a middle class of industrious people rising, in the land of their birth, to become small owners of land, on which they find it desirable to employ a horse, or other beast of burden. Some of the planters in this region complain at times of a want of hands; but wages are low, and they cannot suffer much, we think, from this cause. The houses in some of the villages in St. James are scarcely better than the old slave-cabins, being merely wattled and thatched. The reason assigned for it by the owners was, that they had lately bought the land, and could not build better ones till they had earned more money. They keep their gardens in good order, and will, in time, get better habitations. The number of Coolie immigrants introduced into Jamaica was never large; but many of those who did come were brought to the sugar estates in this district. Arriving at an estate, where we found some of them at work, we asked the book-keeper why they employed these people, in preference to Creoles? The answer he gave was, that "they are more expensive than the Creoles; but we can command their labour at all times, and it keeps the people from combining to get higher wages." The expense of employing Coolies must be a serious one to any planter, as they cannot, in general, perform the same amount of work as the native blacks, and receive as much pay. It must also be a serious expense to the island, as the bounty paid for their introduction has been large, and the mortality among them great. One-third of the total number introduced within the last six years are supposed to have perished. Those that remain are spoken of as industrious and saving; they will not mix with the negro population, but keep to themselves. They continue their heathen practices, often beating a drum, and sacrificing a goat. The presence of such *refined* heathens has a prejudicial effect on the morals of the community, and on their advancement in religion.

The parishes of Hanover and Westmoreland each contain a principal town or shipping port, both of which we visited. Sugar is cultivated largely in each of these parishes, and, labour not being so plentiful as elsewhere, wages are somewhat higher. The planters give, in some places, fifteen pence a day. The labourers hire ground to cultivate on their own account, and are doing very well. They work, on an average, four days in the week for their masters, and two for themselves. Their conduct, on the whole, is satisfactory, and they are said to be improving in morals.

St. Elizabeth forms an extensive district, and contains much good pasture land, on which horses and oxen are reared for the colonial market. The situation of its labourers varies greatly; some are attached to the few sugar properties of the plain; others are cattle-keepers; and a large remaining number, who have hired allotments on the hills, offer their labour where and when they can, and sometimes go to a great distance to obtain work. This class of the population, from all we could gather, are not generally so well off as in the north of the island, having less employment at wages, and provision grounds that are less productive. In consequence of long-continued dry weather, we found some of them very poor; and between Black River and the Manchester mountains there had been some real distress. The small freeholders, who possess from two to three acres of land, had managed, however, to keep from sinking. We had a meeting with a number of them near Black River; their only complaints were, that when they worked for wages, they could not get them duly paid, and that the storekeepers gave them a very low price for their pimento and ginger. If we could help them to obtain better prices, they said, they should be very thankful. The parish of St. Elizabeth is separated from that of Manchester by a long and lofty range of mountains, over which is the nearest road to the capital. These mountains, which are very abrupt in elevation, must either be encountered by travellers, or they must go 150 miles round to avoid them. We selected the pass called the Gutter's Hill, which is about 3,000 feet in height, and accomplished



our task. We, and our carriages, reached the summit in about five hours, with the help of eight horses, two mules, six oxen, six men, and a boy. The road before us was then comparatively level for a few miles, but so rocky and full of stones that we were often compelled to quit the carriages and walk. Our only wonder was that any vehicle could be made strong enough in bolts and iron to resist the joltings of such a highway. On proceeding to Mandeville, we passed several ruinant coffee plantations, one of which had been converted into a breeding pen, or pasture estate; and another, in which the coffee trees were left growing, had been partitioned out and sold to the labourers, on which houses were erected, and provision grounds planted. The coffee planters in Manchester were once numerous, and some of them wealthy, but, as we have already remarked, coffee is no longer remunerative, except under very favourable circumstances. Society in this quarter is in a state of disruption. The labourers remain, although there is but little coffee left to gather, or other work to be had. Wages are fallen to nine-pence a day! An adjustment is much needed in the labour market of Jamaica. The labourers continue too much together, near the spots where they were born, and have long lived. In the parish of Vere, an adjoining one to that of Manchester, which, in favourable seasons, yields largely of sugar, the wages had been reduced to only sixpence a day. Were only half the people of these two parishes to migrate to the north and west of the island, the balance both of labour and wages would soon be restored; but as it is, the labourers of Vere are in deep poverty, and those of Manchester gain a somewhat precarious livelihood. Near to Mandeville, the chief town of Manchester, is a very large free village, or township, called Porus, which was the earliest settlement of the kind in the colony, and which, when first set on foot, was greatly resorted to by the emancipated people of the district. It now contains from 3,000 to 4,000 inhabitants. The spot was injudiciously chosen; the soil is poor, and in dry weather the wells are speedily exhausted. The land adjoining the houses requires rest, and the owners are now purchasing new ground for themselves among the hills, at a distance. A surveyor, whom we saw on the spot, informed us that he had lately sold out to them as much as 150 acres of hill land, in small lots, at the rate of 24s. per acre, in fee simple, and that he was going on with his sales. There are two missionary chapels in Porus, and a day school is attached to one of them; but the people are far from diligent in availing themselves of religious teaching, or school instruction. As a community they have a poor character; they are fond of revels, and some of the baser sort among the whites encourage them in the practice of cock-fighting. Any circumstance which tends to awaken superstition, or kindle the passions, brings the scum of society to the surface. A myall-man, who called himself Dr. Taylor, a sort of African rain-maker, had lately been at the place. He pretended to be helped in his operations by angels, and boasted that he could heal diseases, and make their empty wells overflow with water. He was received as a visitor from heaven, and to do him honour they kept up revelry and dancing day and night. The police interfered to put a stop to the noise and disturbance, but the friends of superstition fought for their champion, and rescued him, till the military came and led him off to prison. The same scenes, under similar circumstances, might probably occur in other places, but we trust that Porus is an exception to the general tone of feeling, as we heard of nothing like it in other parts of the island. In this large village the population is dense, and the ignorant and depraved encourage one another to evil. There is no middle-class to influence them beneficially. Although the season had been unkindly, we found, from conversation with the labourers, that they were under no difficulty in regard to subsistence. Good schools, and a disposition on the part of parents to send their children to them, are the great want of the neighbourhood.

Our next visit was to the lower part of Clarendon. In the upper or hilly district of this extensive parish, which lies in the very centre of the island, are some good sugar estates, and many abandoned or decaying ones. The labourers here were only moderately well off, owing to the dry season, which had made work scarce and wages low, but they made no complaints to us. They had food and clothing, and something more. This part of Clarendon has good schools, and we received satisfactory accounts of the general intelligence and improvement of the people; although here, as in other places, the former system of slavery has left traces of demoralisation among all classes, deeply to be deplored. Our first

long journey in Jamaica had now nearly drawn to a close, and passing forward through the small parish of St. Dorothy, we hastened on to Kingston, where we again remained a few days.

We had scarcely reached the city before we learned that a Brazilian slaver, with a cargo of rescued Africans, had been brought by a British cruiser into the harbour of Port Royal. To that place we immediately repaired, and being accommodated by the commodore with his boat and eight men, proceeded to the slave brig, which lay in the offing, about two miles distant. Here a sad sight was presented! A crowd of naked and dirty human beings, mostly boys, stood behind the bulwarks, looking intently over the sides of the ship to watch us as we drew near. On our mounting the deck, they formed themselves into groups, with men and women who were imperfectly clothed. Most of them, though dirty, were in good condition; but some lay stretched on the deck, sick or ulcerated, with poor wasted frames and limbs reduced almost to skeletons. We asked permission to descend into the slave cabin: we found it three feet eight inches from deck to beam. A few of the poor captives, too sick to be lifted out and laid on the upper deck, remained there stretched on the floor, or sitting as upright as they could, with hands on knees. We could not explore every corner of this foul hold; sickness supervened, and we were glad to clamber up the hatchway for fresh air. This slave ship was on her first voyage. She had left Calabar with 350 slaves on board, and had intended, we were told, if she had not been disturbed, to take in a cargo of eight hundred. Her name was *Clementina*, captured off the Isle of Pines, near Cuba. Sixty-six of the captives had died in the middle passage. Since her capture there had died twenty-eight men, eleven women, and one boy; and others were in so miserable a state—so attenuated, dropsical, and ulcerous—as to leave no hope of recovery. In about two months, the dead corpses of more than 100 out of 350 human beings, with which the *Clementina* left the coast of Africa, had been cast into the deep. During the chase by the Bermuda schooner, the hold of the slaver was battened down, and for twenty-nine hours neither food nor drink had been administered to the wretched captives. When she surrendered, twenty-eight of them were found dead, and lay putrifying among the living! On our addressing, in a look and tone of indignation, the Spanish supercargo, whom we found on deck, the heartless murderer, for such he was, returned us a fiendish smile, but said not a word. Leaving the slave ship and its heart-sickening and disgusting associations, we returned to Kingston to prepare for our Eastern tour.

The weather was unpropitious. The rainy season had begun to set in, and there was much reason to apprehend detention from floods, which are common at this period in the district we were about to visit. The road leading eastward through the parish of St. David, runs by the sea side, through a fertile district, sloping from the foot of the Blue Mountains to the ocean, and which abounds with sugar plantations. In conversing with the labourers as we went along, we found that wages were a little higher than in the west of the island, and according to the accounts they gave of their own condition, they were very well off. On inquiring of a missionary at Morant Bay, how they were getting on in that neighbourhood, he replied, "The labourers are doing well; but they are not called labourers here, they are independent settlers." The town of Morant Bay, the capital of St. Thomas-in-the-East, though standing on a cliff, and washed by the waves of the sea, is said to be a very unhealthy place, and to have long proved a hospital or a grave for the missionaries; but in the large population of the neighbourhood there is an ample field of religious labour, and good men continue to toil there. Bath is a handsome village at the foot of the mountains; it has good houses, in pleasant gardens on each side of the street, and the street itself is shaded and adorned by a double row of Tahitian cashew trees, the blossoms falling from which cover the road with a beautiful carpet of pink and crimson, and gave the place a very novel and pleasing appearance. It has also a public botanic garden, but now very small, and not very carefully kept. In the neighbourhood, we visited an estate on which were placed forty African labourers, some of whom had been released from a slave-ship two years, and others only twelve months. All had been indentured to the owner of the estate for three years, on the condition of his finding them, during that term, lodging, food, and clothing. This term of indenture was not strictly legal, as the law only permitted one year of servitude, and the act of the legislature, which extended the term to three years, had not received the sanction of the Home Govern-



ment, and consequently had not become law. The poor Africans here, as in other places where they have been similarly indentured, appear to have discovered this, and taking us, as we supposed, for magistrates, or persons in some authority, began to pour out their complaints to us, in very broken and imperfect English. They wished to make us understand that, instead of being furnished with food and clothing from the overseer, they wanted money, like the other labourers, to buy these things for themselves. Where did they come from? we asked. "From Congo," they replied. Did they wish to go back again? "No, massa, Congo no good," said one of them, "me in Congo, me dead;" and then, pointing to their canvas clothing and felt caps, intimated that they wanted cloth coats and good hats. Their case was represented, at our suggestion, through the overseer of the estate to the owner, who, when we met him soon afterwards, told us that he had sent an order to have them placed on a footing with his hired servants. The Act which relates to the placing out and indentureship of Africans rescued from slave-ships, provides, that suitable habitations should be prepared and be in readiness for their reception. This Act is strangely disregarded by some of the planters. There are instances, and, we fear, not a few, in which these poor ignorant creatures are crowded together, by day and by night, without regard to morals or decency. Even on this estate, belonging to a kind, humane, and Christian master, no sufficient preparation had been made for so large a number. Fifteen separate small rooms, under one long roof, were in the course of erection, but were, as yet, unfinished. We thought them much too small; ventilation was wholly unprovided for, except by the door, and an opening with a shutter, and they were scarcely raised above the ground, an arrangement, which, in a low and damp situation, should have been carefully avoided. At the extremity of Bath township begins the luxuriant district of *Plantain Garden, River Valley*, which contains eleven estates. It is the richest sugar district in Jamaica, is six miles long, and a mile and a half broad, and yields one fourteenth of all the sugar exported from the colony. The annual average production is 3,250 hogsheads. In this narrow, compact, and fruitful valley, are congregated a dense mixed population of Creoles, Africans, and Coolies. The planters have labourers enough, not only for the present extent of cultivation, which already embraces the whole of the valley, but for its increase to the sides and slopes of the hills that enclose it; and to these they are now extending it. The people are well employed, at wages varying from a shilling to one shilling and sixpence per day. The average time of labour, in the fields, is four days and a half per week, for each labourer, and the average weekly wages earned by adults is 5s. per head. The planters find it their interest here to settle promptly with their labourers, and this they are able to do, as the proprietors are generally wealthy, and the estates prosperous. It is no less the interest of planters elsewhere thus to act. The labourers might earn more in wages, but they can hire land on the neighbouring hills at twenty-six shillings per acre, and they prefer to do so, as by this means they maintain a certain degree of independence; and in part, if not wholly, support their families from the produce they raise. On one estate we found 200 persons, who live in cottages belonging to the owner, and who altogether pay him a rental of £120 a-year. The manager told us that they had among them, at least, 300 pigs, which are fed chiefly on boiled tops of their ground provisions. These the cottagers pluck off, when young and juicy, as our English farmers gather the leaves of the beet-root for their cattle. On two of the estates a large number of voluntary immigrants from Sierra Leone are settled. These are the best immigrants, if not the best labourers, in all Jamaica. Their masters speak highly of them. They had been taught in the Mission schools before they left Africa, and could read and write fairly. They are a moral people, marry early, live reputably, and are very industrious. These immigrants were not placed in *barracks*, as too many of the Africans usually are, without regard to cleanliness and comfort, but in good cottages, and such other attentions are bestowed on them as a good peasantry deserve. There can be no doubt that all the labourers who live and work in this rich valley, and in the whole parish of St. Thomas-in-the-East, have ample means of subsistence; but their morals, we fear, receive contamination where, as in some places is the case, a great number of them live closely together, and where there are few schools, and but little instruction of any kind for the children. Some crimes of a grave character have been lately perpetrated in

the parish, and drunkenness was beginning to prevail. We visited the prison at Morant Bay, and examined the commitments, but found nothing to justify the very serious fears entertained by one or two of the magistrates, in regard to the increase of crime. Some of the poor delinquents in prison were confined for trifling offences, and the punishments inflicted by way of discipline were unreasonably severe. One poor boy, as a penalty for refusing to break stones, was ordered by the gaoler to walk up and down the prison-yard with a weight of fifty-six lbs. on his naked head; the tears were streaming down his face under the heavy, and, as we thought, injudicious and cruel task. We begged him off, for which he was very thankful. Beyond St. Thomas-in-the-East, northward, are the parishes of Portland, Metcalf, and St. George, neither of which did we visit. In Portland, many sugar and coffee plantations are thrown out of cultivation, and the peasantry not having removed to other parts, where work is plentiful, are said to be poor. To remedy this, they are forming settlements, and have begun to cultivate provisions more largely for the coasting trade. They also grow arrow root, which can be made ready for the market at a cost of threepence per lb. Whatever sum is obtained beyond this, on the spot, is of course clear profit. In the island of St. Vincent, as we have seen, this very useful article of commerce is produced at a somewhat lower rate. We returned to Kingston by nearly the same road that we came, and employed ourselves in that city and Spanish Town, and their respective neighbourhoods, a few days longer. These two principal towns, of which we have already spoken, have a bad reputation as respects morals. They are a sort of cesspool, into which much of the moral filth of the island may be said to flow. Hence there is constant employment for magistrates in petty sessions, and for the superior courts of law. The prisons and hospitals contain many who live by petty theft, and persons brought by their own bad practices, or those of their parents and guardians, to destitution. But for the education that has been extensively diffused, crimes would doubtless have been more numerous. Were it more general, and of a superior description, especially as regards moral and religious training, there is reason to believe that crime would be much less.

#### THE PLANTERS.

So loud and reiterated had been the complaints of the planters, and so strongly had the whole colony been represented as on the brink of ruin, that we entered on our inquiries with a heavy heart. Our impressions on landing, from what we heard and saw at Kingston, rather confirmed than removed our fears; but our progress through the country tended to convince us, that although much depression existed, and all classes shared in the suffering, the distress was far from being so deep and general as we had been led to expect. The coffee plantations, owing to causes that we have already explained, had been largely abandoned, and a few of the sugar estates were struggling for existence, and seemed likely soon to be given up. These circumstances, and others more dismal and less true, have been represented, by a portion of the public press in this country and America, as a consequence of emancipation from slavery, and a want of labourers to cultivate the soil. The planters, however, who know their own situation, and the causes of their distress, justly attribute their losses and difficulties chiefly to the operation of our late imperial Sugar Act, which occasioned a shock that many of them, with all their endeavours, are unable to overcome. The sugar plantations of Jamaica are, to a great extent, in the hands of absentee proprietors and mortgagees, and are, of course, much more expensively managed than they otherwise might be. Such plantations, unless the seasons prove favourable and the produce abundant, cannot sustain a competition with the foreign colonies of Cuba and Porto Rico, where virgin soil of great fertility may be had to almost any extent, and where the land is tilled by the uncompensated labour of slaves, replaced, as soon as they are worn out by excessive toil, from the human shambles always at hand. Landed property is, in most parts, greatly reduced in value, and under the influence of a panic and a want of capital, it has been sold, in some places, at prices absolutely ruinous to the former owner, and the process is still going on. That the present distress is not occasioned by a want of labourers to cultivate the soil, is evident from the fact that no less than 48,000 of the peasantry have been, within a few years, discharged from abandoned coffee and sugar estates, and that wages have fallen from one shilling and sixpence to a shilling a day.

Excessive taxation and a debt too heavy for the colony to



bear, have been entailed on it by the extravagant grants of its legislature. In this respect the past has no remedy; but the future admits of hope. A pruning hand applied to the public expenditure is urgently needed. The nett revenue of the colony, in 1846, was £296,377 19s. 8d. In 1849, it had fallen to £179,230 11s. 6d. The judicial department of the Government occasioned, in the last-mentioned year, a cost to the island of £44,030 12s. 1d., and the Established church received, in direct payments out of the island chest, the large sum of £20,488 10s. 5d., exclusive of sums, nearly as large, voted by the parish vestries, which swelled the amount to more than £40,000. Thus the courts of law and the church together are permitted to absorb nearly two fifths of the colonial revenue! The grants for education in the same year were £1,905, in which all religious denominations were invited to share; but as the Baptists and Independents, and some of the Presbyterians, refuse, on conscientious grounds, to accept this aid, it goes chiefly to the parochial clergy for the national schools, and to the maintenance of a normal school at Spanish Town.

The growers of pimento in the parish of St. Ann were doing well at the time of our visit, and the sugar estates in that parish, in numerous instances, yielded a fair return to the owners. In Trelawney some of the planters complained, and we believe justly, of large losses, and a great deterioration in the value of property; but, even there, some few estates were paying tolerably well, and others only occasioned a loss through the neglect of agents to whose care they were confided by absentees. Some attorneys in Jamaica undertake the management of too many estates, and where these are left, as is too often the case, almost exclusively to the care of overseers or book-keepers, who have very little interest in the business they undertake, neglect and loss frequently ensue. We met with an instance of an owner who came out to take possession of his property, and to farm it himself. The produce under a paid manager had become reduced to thirteen hogsheads of sugar, which had cost him £617! By diligence on his own part, he soon raised the produce to sixty-six hogsheads, and expected in the present year, 1851, to be able to raise it to one hundred hogsheads. Some properties, which had occasioned loss for many years past to parties residing in England, have been sold, or let on lease to resident occupiers, and are found to pay them very well. One estate had been recently bought by the attorney who had been its manager. According to his statement before the sale, "it was going to ruin fourteen years ago, and had been going to ruin ever since; the land was no better than snuff powder." The same estate, in his own hands as the owner, is believed by his neighbours to yield a good profit. A property near Falmouth was also lately bought by the attorney of its absentee owner for the sum of £1,500; he resold a part of it for £1,700, and cultivates the remainder on his own account. We conversed with a manager who made on one estate 138 hhds. of sugar, which yielded a surplus to the owner of £1,200 per annum.

The parish of St. James, abounding in sugar properties, contains two or three which are in the market for sale; but in these instances there is good reason to believe that the soil is poor, or that the management has been bad. Many estates, on the other hand, are fertile, and remunerative to the occupiers. We passed over one estate of 1,100 acres, belonging to an absentee, a great part of which had been suffered to run waste. The land cultivated in canes was 150 acres, and the last year's crop was only fifty hogsheads! A manager, recently appointed, told us that the canes had been put in without manure, and that the rats had devoured a great part of those which came to maturity. An adjoining estate, leased to a resident, yielded 130 hogsheads; the fields were clean, the land was under the plough, we heard nothing of rats, and all was prosperous. Changes of tenure are fast taking place in this quarter, and good land, well situated, readily finds purchasers or lessees. A good sugar plantation had just been purchased by an attorney, who had the management of many estates, for the very moderate sum of £3,000. A magistrate and planter, who lived near, had offered the new purchaser £4,200 for the property, and his offer was refused. The same gentleman informed us that he possessed an estate, which, from the time of its purchase, six years ago, with the improvements he had made upon it, had cost him £7,000. The times, he confessed, were hard to encounter, but he had realised a surplus from the crop of last year of £400. An intelligent attorney said to us, "sugar properties pay where they are not mortgaged, and are likely to pay in future." An attorney in this district has lately taken four sugar properties on lease; and one noble proprietor

is so well satisfied with the proceeds of his fine estates, that he not only continues to furnish ample means for continuing the cultivation, but has given directions to have it extended, by taking in some of the waste land. In passing through Hanover into Westmoreland, we found that some of the sugar estates were cultivated without loss, or at a fair profit; others, unfavourably situated, were about to be abandoned as sugar plantations, and turned to other uses. The pen or pasture estates, for the rearing and fattening of cattle, afford, in some cases, a handsome return in this part of the island. We were hospitably entertained by an attorney who resides on one of these, who assured us that it yielded a net profit of £1,000 to £1,500 per annum. Of two sugar estates under his care, one was a losing concern; but another, which last year made 138 hogsheads of sugar, gave a profit of £1,000. Many sugar plantations in the hilly parts of Westmoreland, and in the interior of the island, have been long abandoned; but agriculture, which had been brought by the late panic to a very low ebb, was beginning to revive. Persons, who had heretofore acted as agents for others, were becoming cultivators on their own account. An enterprising planter, near Savanna la Mar, had bought an estate for £10,000, and had economised labour to such an extent, by breaking up the works of an adjoining property, and uniting the two together, that he had realised, from the two estates, the large amount of the purchase-money named, in the space of five years. Another property, near to this, which had long been a losing one to its absentee owner, was hired by a resident planter on lease, who cleared by it last year no less than £1,200. Other lessees were spoken of as doing well. The estates thus mentioned possess considerable natural and some local advantages. An English Agricultural Company hold on lease in Westmoreland what was once a very productive estate of 1676 acres in extent, for which they pay £400 per annum. This estate, by some means, had been suffered to run down. In 1847, it made only sixty-two hogsheads of sugar; in 1848, under improved management, it made 102 hogsheads; in 1849, 164 hogsheads; and in 1850, 198 hogsheads. A tram-road, of a mile in length, had been laid down from the re-opened land to the sugar works. We do not learn that any dividend from this and other estates held by the Company has yet been paid to the shareholders; but we much hope, from what we saw and heard, that the undertaking is now or will very shortly become remunerative. The parish of St. Elizabeth is almost exclusively a pasture district, and contains few sugar estates. The low prices at which cattle were selling here, owing to the general poverty, had somewhat disheartened the proprietors, and there seemed little ground to hope for a speedy improvement. Manchester abounds in ruinous coffee plantations, and the owners of property in that once flourishing parish are greatly depressed or ruined. Some plantations are in the course of being cleared and converted into pasture; others are neglected, and furnish little or no revenue. Land, in some parts of this district, is almost unsaleable. The hill-sides, near Porus, as we have already stated, are sold out in small allotments of a few acres each, at twenty-four shillings an acre; and in larger quantities, we may presume, at a price still lower.

A continued succession of dry seasons has greatly injured the planters of Vere and St. Dorothy. One of the largest, wealthiest, and most hopeful in disposition of the sugar planters, has felt himself compelled to give up the cultivation of his once fine properties, and to withdraw from business. The parish of Vere, where the soil is extremely fertile, sometimes produces large crops of sugar of an excellent quality. At the period of our visit the canes were almost scorched up, and yielded an extremely small quantity of sugar.

The city of Spanish Town, the seat of Government, lies in the parish of St. Catherine. Between this place and Kingston, the capital, a distance of only thirteen miles, much of the soil is poor and marshy, and parts of it are overrun with bush; but on the left hand of the road leading to Kingston, is a narrow rich belt of land, extending to the hills, on which there are a few good sugar plantations. In former days, when the seasons were more generally propitious, these estates made more sugar than they do now, but the soil is still so fertile as to induce cultivation. In order to counterbalance the loss of rain, the managers of these estates have agreed together to drain a considerable lagoon; the surface of which, when drained, will give a large tract of cane land; and the canals, which are to be cut through it, will serve for irrigation. On one of these estates, near Spanish Town, we saw in operation a



centrifugal cylinder, for curing sugar, the simplicity and effectiveness of which pleased us greatly. By means of a swift rotatory motion, the sugar, as it comes from the coolers, is thrown against a lining of perforated metal; the molasses are thus immediately separated from the mass, and the pure crystallised sugar alone remains. To cure sugar in the ordinary way, by putting it into hogsheads to clarify, is a process of six weeks; the cylindrical operation performs it in fifteen minutes! Sugar ordinarily loses much of the remaining molasses by drainage on ship-board. By this new mode of curing, it has none to lose, and thus a great saving is effected. This was the first and only machine of the kind in Jamaica, or, so far as we know, in all the West Indies. It was about to be introduced on another large estate belonging to the same proprietor, in the north of the island, and will probably soon become general. The machinery, and its cost of erection, scarcely exceeds £200 sterling; and the whole process is so plain and simple, that a child may understand it.

The advantage of the draining just referred to, is not confined to land in canes. It has been found equally useful in producing good pasture. On marshy ground, which had yielded little or no return, we saw one field of guinea grass, of thirty acres, redeemed from the bog, which the attorney and manager confidently believed would yield the proprietor a profit of at least £500 per annum.

The plain of Liguena, in the neighbourhood of Kingston, extending from the sea shore to the foot of the mountains, much of which is now covered with bush, is supposed to be favourable to the culture of the cotton plant. Should it be found available for this purpose, the benefit derived from it to Kingston and its vicinity will be important. We went to look at some cotton fields, planted by way of experiment. One field of four acres was planted in the eighth month (August) of 1849. The seeds were put in four feet apart, with peas between the rows. The peas had borne well and were harvested. The picking of the ripe pods of cotton commenced early in 1850, and the process had been continued to midsummer, the time of our visit. The cotton trees were then from six to nine feet in height, were still bearing, still in blossom, and the picking process proceeded at intervals of a few days asunder. The land was alluvial, and from its locality at the foot of the mountain was favourably situated to catch the mountain showers.

The owner was so well satisfied with the success of his experiment, that he had just planted a fresh field of fifteen acres, with seeds five feet apart, having pine apples and Indian corn between the rows, and was preparing thirty acres more by the plough for a further extension of the produce. He had built a new mill-house, was putting up machinery for cleaning the cotton, and had gone to the southern states of North America, to make himself master of the whole business of its cultivation and preparation. Some Americans, connected, as we understand, with a company of their fellow-countrymen who had come to Jamaica to work the copper mines of the Luckey Valley, which they had hired on a lease of ninety-nine years, were warily making purchases of land for the settlement of cotton plantations. In the United States, the seed of the cotton tree is sown annually, as the frost destroys it in the winter; in Jamaica, frosts are unknown, and the plant is perennial, yielding a crop for eight to ten years in succession. Many experiments in the cultivation of cotton are now making in different parts of the colony. The specimens of sea-island cotton, already produced, exhibit a fine staple, and everything indicates a speedy and extensive growth of the article. We heartily desire the success of the enterprise, as one that will materially contribute to revive the commerce and agriculture of this fine colony.

Before entering on our second journey to the east of that island, we received a call from an enterprising young planter, who has purchased some estates in that quarter, at recent panic prices. He told us, that from the very moderate cost of these estates, and the low wages of labour, he shall obtain a profit, if his sugar nett him in the home market £10 per hogshead; and he was convinced that, under very favourable circumstances, sugar may be now grown in Jamaica at 9s. or 10s. per cwt. Those who have lately sold their properties at a great sacrifice, had no such faith in the rallying powers of the colony; but there are young men of enterprise, possessing skill and capital, who entertain very hopeful sentiments. One estate near Bath which we visited, belongs to an owner of this description. It had been bought by him at a low price, having been suffered to run down, but now makes 100 hogsheads of sugar, and is expected soon to make 150 hogsheads. The late very dry season had occasioned some despondency to the

planters, especially in the Blue Mountain Valley. On one sugar plantation near Kingston we learned that, in 1848, the canes were so much scorched by the heat, that it was not thought worth while to put the mill about, and not a hogshead of sugar was made! Things were not so discouraging at the time of our visit there, or at the foot of the Blue Mountains, but it was quite evident, from all we heard, that the land has suffered much from the change of the seasons, and that the production of sugar has fallen off considerably from that cause. When we speak of distress in Jamaica, this circumstance, among others, should be taken into consideration. Our travels ended with St. Thomas-in-the-East, and its luxuriant plantations in the Plantain Garden, River Valley. The estates of this valley are almost always profitable; eight, out of the eleven which it contains, have been kept in the same family for generations, or have not been offered for sale in the public market. A belt of land, fifty miles long, by three miles broad, supposing it to be as fertile as this fine valley, would yield as much sugar as the whole of the island now produces. We need not say one word on the subject of distress here. There is much distress, however, as we were informed, in Portland, Metcalfe, and St. George, and we fear, also, in St. Mary's. In looking at Jamaica as a whole, we are bound to consider it as a suffering colony. During the last four or five years the losses of the planters have been very great, and the island has been laid prostrate. Agriculture has languished—commerce has been paralysed. Some persons suppose that these losses will be aggravated by the late awful visitation of the cholera, and that the depression and distress that exists will be deepened. We hope that this may not prove to be the case, or at least for any continuance; but that a large portion of the existing labourers may be induced to remove from those parishes where wages are very low, to districts where their services are most wanted, and will be better remunerated. We cherish the hope, also, that their number may be largely recruited by immigration from the United States, if a better guarantee be given for their just and kind treatment than has hitherto been afforded by colonies, who have most loudly demanded an increase of the labouring population.

#### THE PUBLIC BUILDINGS.

It is proper, before leaving Jamaica, that we should take a glance at its public buildings. In the time of slavery and the apprenticeship, some of the public buildings of Kingston were a disgrace to so large and wealthy a colony; they were strictly in keeping with the sad system of bondage and cruelty which it then fostered. The colonial convict gaol was ill constructed and ill ventilated, and contained a huge treadmill, on which the prisoners, for very venial offences, were often severely punished. The lunatic asylum was a mere range of rooms under one long roof, with stone floors, and harsh iron gratings, destitute of every thing that was essential to comfort or recovery. The hospital, though good of its sort, was very insufficient in its general accommodations. Freedom has dawned on the land, and has brought with it a better system of treatment for the prisoner, the sick, and the insane. The legislature of Jamaica, much to its honour, resolved at once on a thorough reform of the colonial institutions, and voted large sums for the commencement of a new prison, a new hospital, and a good and sufficient asylum for the insane. These buildings, bold in design, and admirably adapted to their respective purposes, are now in progress, and when finished, will reflect credit on the colony. The old gaol much improved, and the treadmill banished from it, is only a place of temporary confinement, till the new Penitentiary is finished. That prison, when completed, will be the most extensive, and perhaps the best in the West Indies. The prisons of Trinidad and of Santa Cruz are good, but this, we think, will be far superior. Two wings of the new hospital are constructed, and are already, in part, occupied. The new lunatic asylum, now in the course of erection, fronts the harbour of Kingston, and commands a fine view of the ocean. The plan embraces six airy wards, capable of containing 240 inmates. The enclosure in which it stands is forty acres in extent, part of which is to become a farm, and to be kept under cultivation by the patients. The remainder is to be laid out in small gardens, shrubberies, and pleasure walks. None of these new buildings are more than half finished. The operations of our late Sugar Act have so far paralysed the means of the colony, that the legislature has found it needful to suspend its grants; but it is much to be desired that no parsimony, however judicious it may seem, will be suffered to prevent the completion of works so well begun, and hitherto so liberally carried forward. Jamaica is



setting an honourable example to all our West India colonies, by which, we trust, they will profit.

On the subject of lunatic asylums we may further remark, that Lord Harris and his council at Trinidad have commenced improvements in regard to the accommodations and treatment of the insane. Sir William and Lady Colebrook and the legislature of Barbadoes have done the same. Some changes for the better, for this class of sufferers, have been effected in Antigua; but in all these cases, from the smallness of the grants appropriated to the specific object, much misery that admits of alleviation, and much malady that admits of cure, remain unrelieved. In Demerara, as has been stated, while the civil hospital reflects the highest credit on the colony, the appendage to it, devoted to the insane, is very bad. The presiding physician is, we know, ashamed of it, and would gladly promote the erection of a new asylum. It is worthy of consideration, whether it might not be expedient to select two or three places in the West Indies on which to erect hospitals for the insane, that should embrace all the smaller islands. In that case, Jamaica and British Guiana should each, perhaps, have an asylum for their own use. The French Government have set us an example. The best-managed lunatic asylum in this part of the world, though still an imperfect one, is that of St. Pierre, in Martinique, and this institution is made to serve for all the French colonies. It receives patients from Guadeloupe, from Mariegalante, and even from Cayenne, on the coast of South America.

Before bringing our report on Jamaica to a close, it may be proper to remind the reader, that in this colony there had already taken place, prior to the abolition of slavery, a considerable decrease in exports, as compared with the early part of the present century. That decrease, of course, was not attributable to the baneful influence of freedom, or to the want of coercion! It arose from the decrease of the labouring population, and the partial exhaustion of the soil, with other evils incident to slavery. Had slavery continued, there is every reason to suppose that the same process of decreasing exports would have continued. It has done so under freedom, with the disadvantage of frequent unfavourable seasons, and the discouragement to production, occasioned by the low prices of the principal staple, incident to the operation of our Sugar Act of 1846. In these circumstances we see no reason for surprise or great disappointment. When, however, we look around on an island, possessing all the natural elements of prosperity, and of unsurpassed loveliness, and see everywhere a happy and increasing peasantry, busily occupied in the cultivation of their own lands, or on plantations that yet remain; we can imagine no circumstances, except the errors and misconduct of those who from their superior education and station must exercise an important influence on the mass of the community, that are likely to prevent the future and permanent prosperity of Jamaica.

#### CONCLUDING REMARKS.

Slavery was abolished in the colonies of the West Indies because the most intelligent and religious portion of the people of Great Britain justly considered it to be inconsistent with the just and benign precepts of Christianity. They knew also, from long experience, that it was equally opposed to the physical, moral, and religious well-being of those who were submitted to its rule; while it exercised a most baneful influence, in all respects, on the administrators of the system.

The results of the great act by which 750,000 slaves were delivered from bondage, must be deeply interesting to every philanthropist and Christian. By the Christian this righteous proceeding could never be regarded as doubtful in its benefits. Those benefits, however, were likely to be, and are proved to have been, greatly modified by the circumstances that surrounded the new race of freemen. Liberty alone could not reasonably be expected at once to develop all the energies, capabilities, and virtues of men, plunged by their former condition in ignorance and habits of deep moral degradation. We shall see, by a general review of the condition of the emancipated peasantry, how far it has been the means of improving their circumstances, and raising their character, during the brief period in which they have enjoyed their rightful privileges.

The apprenticeship, or semi-slavery, was only abolished in 1838—about eleven years before the period of our visit. Until freedom was finally conferred, there had been, in nearly all the colonies, an excess of deaths over births. The decrease of human life, in a period of twelve years, terminating shortly before the

passing of the Abolition Act, had amounted to 52,000, out of a population of 800,000. This fact sufficiently establishes the deplorable physical condition of the slaves; and the records of punishment, including the five years of apprenticeship, afford additional evidence, if more were needed, of the cruel and intolerable hardships of slavery. With a knowledge of these circumstances, and of others attached to the system, we cannot doubt, and we think no intelligent person can doubt, that the slaves of our colonies were, in a very large number of instances, poorly fed, badly lodged, and worked greatly beyond their strength. The moral and religious condition of the slaves was scarcely less deplorable, trained as they were, by those who were placed over them, for the most part, in licentiousness, and a disregard to everything sacred.

At present, we find the free labourers of the British West Indies in a state of comfort that might compare favourably with the working classes of our own country. Judging from the great number of young people, whom we saw in almost every part of our travels, and from the easy circumstances of the peasantry in general, we may safely conclude that there is no longer a decrease of population in our colonies, and that, in some of them, the increase must be considerable. The people do not everywhere inhabit houses sufficiently good or commodious, but a large proportion of the dwellings they occupy are their own; and there are few, indeed, that are not much superior to the wretched slave-cabins of former days. They have an abundance of nutritious food, and their appearance almost universally denotes health, strength, and the enjoyment of a large amount of happiness. They have the port of free men, and contrast, in this respect, very favourably with the serfs of the Danish colonies.

That the emancipated slaves are not the indolent beings that ignorant, prejudiced, or interested persons are wont to affirm, is proved by the large amount of produce they raise for exportation, in addition to that which they cultivate for their own use. We have seen that the exports of sugar, in producing which the Creole population is assisted by a comparatively small number of foreign immigrants, are nearly or quite three-fourths as large as they were during the period of slavery, although men, women, and children can no longer be forced to the field with little regard to their ability, and compelled to work by day, and often by night, in the staple manufacture. It is, also, no small proof of industry, that the peasantry have been able to buy tens of thousands of freeholds, and that they have placed upon them nearly an equal number of tenements. The labour necessarily abstracted from the cane fields in building these, as well as the very extended cultivation of provisions, may satisfactorily account for a portion of that which has been withdrawn from the production of sugar.

We think it creditable, also, to the industry and intelligence of the emancipated labourers, that they have been found willing to work at a very low rate of wages, when this was rendered needful by competition with slave labour on the fruitful soil of Cuba. Thus, too, has it been shown, that there is in freedom a capability of adaptation to circumstances, which its enemies would have regarded as impossible. Who would have dared to predict, a few years ago, that men, who were then slaves in the West Indies, would work industriously, as free men, in some colonies for sixpence, in others for eight-pence, and in others for a shilling a day—a rate of wages little, if at all, exceeding the average cost of slave labour in the same regions!

The fact on which we have just dwelt, proves that it is not in the change from slavery to freedom, or in the idleness of the emancipated peasantry, that we must look for that decrease in exportable produce which has, within the last few years, taken place in Jamaica and British Guiana, and in some other colonies of minor importance. It has, we think, been shown, that in Jamaica especially, the decrease is in no small degree owing to a succession of unfavourable seasons, whilst in that island, as well as in Guiana, and probably in other depressed colonies, the mismanagement of those who have the charge of estates, errors in legislation, and oppressive taxation, have largely contributed to the same result.

In further illustration of the industry of the free negro, we would request attention to the following table, which shows that in six of the British West India colonies, some of them of no small importance, the exports of the principal staple have been fully maintained or increased since the introduction of freedom, although, at the same time, there has been a very large increase in the domestic consumption:—



	1831.	1832.	1833.	Average.
Barbadoes .....	379,052	384,971	394,527	386,183
Antigua .....	193,177	143,336	129,519	155,344
Dominica .....	56,339	58,270	47,372	53,993
St. Lucia .....	72,376	47,966	46,548	55,630
Trinidad .....	327,167	312,266	286,303	308,575
St. Christopher..	101,968	80,602	80,390	87,653
	1,130,079	1,027,411	984,659	1,047,383
St. Vincent ....	221,662	186,812	194,889	201,121
Jamaica .....	1,429,093	1,431,689	1,256,991	1,372,591
Demerara } ....	802,134	736,562	754,122	764,272
Berbice .. } ....	122,088	134,036	101,736	119,286
Grenada .....	185,771	188,231	204,074	192,692
Montserrat ....	26,137	20,856	15,507	20,833
Nevis .....	49,924	39,843	42,287	44,018
Tobago .....	121,249	111,522	86,527	106,432
Tortola .....	15,559	14,999	14,969	15,175
Bermudas .....	104	1		35
	2,752,059	2,677,739	2,476,213	2,635,337
	4,103,800	3,891,962	3,655,761	3,682,720
	1847.	1848.	1849.	Average.
Barbadoes .....	469,021	403,309	489,136	453,822
Antigua .....	240,199	161,890	188,986	197,025
Dominica .....	65,452	58,000	48,566	57,339
St. Lucia .....	88,368	61,154	67,405	72,309
Trinidad .....	393,523	391,655	424,466	403,214
St. Christopher..	149,096	79,971	93,862	107,643
	1,405,659	1,155,979	1,312,421	1,291,352
St. Vincent ....	175,615	144,116	163,176	160,985
Jamaica .....	751,408	627,008	633,587	670,667
Demerara } ....	522,389	570,030	516,354	536,257
Berbice .. } ....	112,777	131,144	62,462	102,127
Grenada .....	104,951	89,662	82,503	92,372
Montserrat ....	7,657	39	63	2,586
Nevis .....	41,833	19,093	24,627	28,517
Tobago .....	69,240	53,480	47,312	56,677
Tortola .....	8,285	2,434	928	3,882
Bermudas .....		2	815	272
	1,618,540	1,492,892	1,368,551	1,493,327
	3,199,814	2,792,987	2,844,148	2,784,679

In estimating the intellectual, moral, and religious improvement of the negro peasantry since emancipation, disadvantages and advantages must be equally taken into account. It can scarcely be supposed that many of those whose education, when young and enslaved, was wholly neglected, should now apply themselves to letters, although there are not a few pleasing instances of this description. Mental improvement must be principally looked for in those upon whose early years freedom has shone, and many of these have received and are still receiving the benefit of instruction both in Day and Sabbath schools. At a period when the value of instruction is generally admitted, this will not be thought a small benefit secured by freedom. In morals there has been much improvement, although the deep-rooted and almost universal profligacy in this respect, during slavery, has left bitter fruits. It is, also, no small disadvantage to the peasantry, as regards purity of character, that a large number of owners and administrators of estates still set them a bad example, although they are less corrupt than formerly. Much attention is paid by the common people to the outward ordinances of religion, and there are no longer the hindrances to an attendance on them that existed during slavery. Many are exemplary in their conduct, and afford much encouragement, and, in some instances, important help to the missionaries by whom they have been instructed. There are persons who were once slaves, and are now pastors of churches, or who are likely soon to fill that responsible office.

The planters, in many instances, have suffered heavy pecuniary loss since the abolition of slavery; but this has arisen from a great variety of causes. We have seen at what a cost of human life and suffering the large amount of sugar produced during slavery was obtained. So far as a diminution in the exports has arisen from the discontinuance of a course which occasioned an annual decrease of labourers, the planter has no cause of regret. His prosperity, if less in appearance, is more solid. Neither ought he

to mourn over a loss of labour incident to the intellectual and moral training of the young, without which there will be a constant tendency to every vice that is opposed to individual and national prosperity. It should also be borne in mind, that if the slave can be forced at once and constantly to put forth a large amount of physical strength, the freeman requires to be trained to the full development of powers, in which, without injury to himself, he will eventually, by the joint advantages of superior health, and greater alacrity and skill, immeasurably outstrip his servile competitors.

The situation of the planters and the results of abolition have, in all respects, been complicated and seriously injured by the Sugar Act of 1846, which admits the produce of slave countries of great fertility into competition with the British colonies. This has not only proved an injury to all classes of the community in our colonial possessions, but has thrown out of cultivation estates in which the soil is not very good, or which are distant from a place of shipment. It has also served to discourage the application of capital in our colonies. Had not this fatal Act been passed, there is much reason to believe, not only that the extent of sugar cultivation would have been now much larger than it is, but that it would have afforded a fair remuneration to all parties engaged in its production. We speak not as Protectionists, but as men who think that the honest and fair cultivator and trader should not be forced into an unequal competition with the dishonest slaveholder, who gives, in return for the labour he exacts, the barest necessities of human existence.

We cannot enter here at large on the mischievous and cruel effects of immigration in some of the emancipated colonies, where it has discouraged, and extensively displaced native labour, swelled the inmates of gaols and prisons, and emptied their treasuries. Worse than this, the introduction of large numbers of scarcely civilised or of heathen men has seriously impeded the advancement of morality and religion among the new race of free-men.

Notwithstanding, however, the disadvantages which have hindered the full development of the blessings of emancipation; notwithstanding unfavourable seasons and impolitic fiscal regulations; notwithstanding there have been too few men of hopeful, large, active, and intelligent minds, and of devoted Christians, to lead the people in the path of improvement—we rejoice to witness an immense and beneficial change in our West India community, as a result of the establishment of freedom. We cherish the hope and the belief that this change will be permanent, and that the results will be increasingly satisfactory.

We have, in the course of our remarks on the separate colonies, as well as in the preceding paragraphs, indicated various causes which have, in our opinion, impeded the prosperity of the emancipated colonies. In conclusion, we would briefly state some of the measures which we believe are required to advance their interests.

First:—It is very desirable, we think, that the general laws of these colonies should be assimilated, and brought into harmony with the general principles of British law; and, so far as personal rights are concerned, into accordance with the great Act for the Abolition of Slavery. At present, there will be found, on examination, great dissimilarity in the laws in force in the several colonies, and, in some of them, enactments at variance with that freedom which all British subjects should enjoy.

Secondly:—In our judgment, the whole subject of the immigration of labourers should undergo a careful revision, with a view to place the burthen of the expense on those for whose benefit it is intended, and to render it more efficient than it has hitherto been, or indeed can be, under the present harsh and oppressive system.

Thirdly:—We think that a stipendiary magistracy should be established in all the colonies, possessing competent legal knowledge and ability, armed with powers similar to those possessed by the magistrates in our metropolitan police-courts, and who should be entitled, by virtue of their office, to be Chairman of the Quarter Sessions. Such an arrangement as this would secure the ends of justice much better than is done at present, and thereby secure a confidence, which is not at present felt, in its impartial administration.

Fourthly:—We conceive that injustice is done to the intelligent and educated portion of the coloured population in some of the colonies, by withholding from them places of emolument and honour. Many of these persons are, no doubt, qualified for situations under the Government, requiring the highest qualifications; and were the principle once acted upon of bestowing such offices, without distinction of colour, on really competent and deserving



persons, it would have the salutary effect of stimulating those who are now depressed to greater and more general exertion to qualify themselves for the discharge of every duty of citizenship, and remove the discontent which, we fear, is too justly entertained against the partial manner in which patronage is frequently bestowed.

Fifthly:—As a general rule, we feel it to be indispensable that the common practice of absenteeism should be abandoned, and that a resident proprietary be substituted for it, whose direct and personal interest in the estates, and economical supervision of their management, would cut down expenses to the lowest point consistent with efficiency. Where it is either inconvenient or impossible for proprietors to carry on the cultivation of their estates personally, we think it would be, in most instances, judicious to let on lease or sell them to some of the enterprising men who are found in the colonies, and who might work them to advantage.

Sixthly:—We would earnestly recommend, under existing circumstances, an Encumbered Estates Act for the colonies. By the enactment of such a measure, large quantities of land, which are now locked up, would be released, and come into the market for sale; and capital, now so much wanted, to extend cultivation, and to pay wages with promptitude and regularity, would then flow into the colonies, and infuse new life into cultivation.

Seventhly:—We feel that the Government of the mother-country owe to the colonies such a modification of the existing Sugar Act as shall prevent the influx into this country of the slave-produced sugars of Brazil and the Spanish colonies, so long as slavery and the slave-trade carried on by them shall exist. We would therefore recommend, as an act of justice to the emancipated colonies, that the duties which will be leviable on Muscovado sugar, the produce of these countries, from and after the 5th of July next, say 14s. per cwt., shall be declared permanent, until they have fully complied with the stipulations of their treaties with this country; and that those to be raised on British plantation sugars shall gradually decrease, to the lowest point consistent with the public interest.

Lastly:—We deem it needful that a great reduction should be made in the expenses of local government, including a considerable diminution in the salaries of the highest officers of the colonies. These remarks apply equally to the Established churches in the colonies, the support of which imposes a heavy burthen on the community at large, whilst a very small portion of the people desire or profit by their ministrations.

#### UNITED STATES SENATE—THE AFRICAN SLAVE-TRADE.

The Senate proceeded to the consideration of the following resolution, submitted by Mr. Clay:—

Resolved,—That the Committee on Commerce be instructed to inquire into the expediency of making more effectual provisions by law to prevent the employment of American vessels and American seamen in the African slave-trade, and especially as to the expediency of granting sea letters or other evidence of national character to American vessels clearing out of the ports of the empire of Brazil for the western coast of Africa.

Mr. Hale said, he desired to say a few words on the resolution. In reference to the slave-trade, and the effect of the various means adopted to suppress it, he read from a letter written in 1845, by James Hammond, of South Carolina, to Mr. Clarkson, in England, in which he pointed out the effects of those measures upon the number of slaves imported, and the mortality among them. In 1787, there was an annual importation of slaves of about forty-five thousand, and the mortality during the middle passage was not over nine per cent. In 1840, after the most rigorous measures had been adopted to suppress the trade, the annual number of slaves brought from Africa was increased three-fold, the slave-trade having increased more rapidly than any other. In that year, the slaves brought over numbered one hundred and fifty thousand souls, and their mortality during the middle passage had increased from nine to twenty-five per cent. He read further extracts to show that the measures adopted to suppress the African slave-trade had not only not prevented an increase of the number, but had actually increased to a fearful extent the mortality of the slaves. Mr. Hammond further proceeded to show that, if these measures were withdrawn, more comfort would be allowed in the transportation of the slaves, and the horrors of the trade would be reduced; he also argued that slavery was not the institution it was represented to be, but that it was ordained by God himself, in the time of Moses, and had been sanctified by Christ and his Apostles; and that the Africans were benefited by bringing them from the darkness of their own land, to one where civilisation and Christianity were known. Mr. H. said, that if there were truth in these arguments, and he supposed Mr. Hammond was

well acquainted with the subject, the sooner all measures to suppress the African slave-trade were abolished the better; and if to bring savages from Africa, and to place them in a God-ordained and Christ-sanctified institution, was such a horrible trade as to call forth and excite these philanthropic efforts to prevent it, he could not see it. He had always noticed, that when the North was pushed to the wall on the subject of slavery, when the battle was lost, when the cause of freedom was defeated, and slavery obtained everything, as it had done at the last session, then the pious philanthropy of some persons was immediately excited, and they came armed to make all efforts against the foreign trade. He had no respect for that philanthropy which gave up everything to slavery at home, and waged a war on that foreign trade which it was safe for everybody to assail. It has been said that colonisation was the most effectual means to effect the suppression of the slave-trade; he did not think so. He believed that as long as there was a market for slaves, and as long as there was a spot upon which slavery was permitted and encouraged, the trade would go on. If they were to have colonisation, he wanted to know which kind of colonisation it was to be. He had seen and heard pious men at the North preaching up colonisation as the only means of finally getting rid of slavery; and he had read the different arguments used in another section of the country, where it was stated that colonisation was the best guarantee of the permanency of slavery, because it would remove the nuisance population of free negroes from around and amidst the slaves.

Mr. Clay asked that the resolution might be read. It was read. He said that the reading of the resolution was the best answer to the speech which had just been made. The resolution was one of inquiry only; and it was founded on official documents, which were before the Senate, and which had been called for by the Senate. It was well known, and the official documents showed it, that the subject of the African slave-trade, and its being carried on in American vessels, between Brazil and the western coast of Africa, had been the subject of correspondence between several American ministers at Brazil and the Government. Mr. Wise, Mr. Tod, and others, and several of the United States consular agents, had written home respecting it. The subject was properly before the Senate in these documents, and the resolution was one of inquiry only, based on the contents of those documents. It appeared that American vessels, commanded by American captains, and with American crews, were sold in the ports of Brazil, on condition of being delivered on the coast of Africa. The vessels, being American, were under the American flag, which was the only one which protected them from the right of search. In this way they could reach the coast of Africa, and the American seamen were either discharged on the coast of Africa without the means of reaching home, or were often compelled, in order to reach home, to navigate the vessel back with a cargo of slaves. The American agents in Brazil all state that there is no commercial trade to induce these vessels to go to the coast of Africa, and all unite, as the only means of preventing this course, is to refuse to grant them sea letters, or other evidence of national character, to trade from Brazilian ports to the coast of Africa.

Mr. Hale moved to add to the resolution, that the committee also inquire and report what has been the practical operation of the laws adopted by the United States to suppress the African slave-trade.

Mr. Hamlin opposed the amendment; and Mr. Hale replied.

Mr. Hale asked for the yeas and nays on his amendment, but they were not ordered. The question was then taken, and the amendment was rejected—yeas 6, noes not counted.

The question recurring on the original resolution, it was adopted—yeas 45, nays 9.

In the course of the above debate, Mr. Hale made reference to the course pursued by the pro-slavery party to put an end to the struggle in favour of the abolition of slavery. He said, in this morning's paper he found the following article, which he read:—

"To gratify public curiosity in regard to the character of a paper which it is understood is being signed by many members of Congress, we have procured a copy for publication in our paper of to-day:—

"The undersigned, members of the 31st Congress of the United States, believing that a renewal of sectional controversy upon the subject of slavery would be both dangerous to the Union and destructive of its objects, and seeing no mode by which such controversy can be avoided, except by a strict adherence to THE SETTLEMENT thereof effected by the Compromise Acts passed at the last session of Congress, do hereby declare their intention to maintain the said settlement inviolate, and to resist all attempts to repeal or alter the Acts aforesaid, unless by the general consent of the friends of the measures, and to remedy such evils (if any) as time and experience may develop.

"And for the purpose of making this resolution effective, they further declare that they will not support for the office of President, or of Vice-President, or of Senator, or of Representative in Congress, or as member of a State Legislature, any man, of whatever party, who is not known to be opposed to the disturbance of THE SETTLEMENT aforesaid, and to the renewal, in any form, of agitation upon the subject of slavery."

He did not, but those who supported the resolution would, come within the ostracism which was proposed by the paper he had read, and which had been published, as was stated, to gratify public curiosity. He thought



that, instead of gratifying public curiosity, it would have the effect of exciting it; public curiosity would not be gratified till the signers' names were also made public. He thought the discussion of this resolution could not take place without placing those who might think proper to do so in a position to be ostracised by this publication. He could not understand how the trade, and the propriety of suppressing it, were to be discussed, when the article traded in was not to be alluded to or commented upon without violating the rule laid down in this paper. It would appear strange and difficult if the subject of a tariff on iron was to be examined and debated, and parties, in so doing, were to be prohibited all mention of the word iron. How was the slave-trade to be discussed without necessarily alluding to the subject of slavery, which was prohibited by this paper published to gratify public curiosity?

Mr. Clay said he saw nothing in his resolution, as had been intimated, to call for any renewal of that agitation on the subject of slavery which had disturbed the country. There was a wide distinction between domestic slavery and the foreign trade. On the subject of the former, there was a diversity of opinion, and on which there was agitation; on the latter, all were united in desiring its suppression. As to the publication in the paper which had been read by the senator, he (Mr. C.) had nothing to say more than to avow himself to be one of its signers, and that he was prepared to discharge all the obligation it imposed on him.

Mr. Foote said that he was somewhat implicated in the paper which had been read from this morning's paper by the senator from New Hampshire. He then read the article alluded to, and explained its terms. It was, that men of all parties have united themselves to put down all agitation on a subject which is calculated to disturb the country, and destroy those paternal relations of concord, harmony, and union, which all the friends of the country are so anxious should be secured. If, as it was supposed, there were men who aspired to the presidency, or other high offices, and who designed to reach these posts by keeping alive agitation and sectional strife, this was intended to warn such persons that they could not succeed in their object, even in obtaining the smallest office. He would not have said a word upon the subject, had he not been one of the earliest signers of the paper. It contained his sentiments. Such an association of persons, in his opinion, would have all the desired effect, and by their influence would quiet agitation; such an effect had, he believed, already been effected to some extent. In connection with this subject, he read several extracts from a circular, signed by George Wood, Hiram Ketchum, and others, of New York, a corresponding committee of the Union Safety Committee, and said that he was not ashamed to say he was in alliance with their movement. He regretted the senator from New Hampshire had denounced the movement. They only meant by this paper to say they would not support any agitator. "We and our house serve the Lord."

#### UNITED STATES.—OPERATION OF THE FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW.

##### ARREST OF A FUGITIVE IN BOSTON, AND HIS SUBSEQUENT RESCUE FROM THE OFFICERS OF JUSTICE.

The proceedings in this case have been the occasion of considerable excitement in Boston, and will, doubtless, not be without their effect on other of the Northern States. The consequence is, that the pro-slavery party are rabid, and are now calling for more stringent measures in order the more effectually to carry out the cruel provisions of their slave law. But, do what they will, public opinion is against it; and it will continue to be the source of excitement and recrimination, if not of direct and earnest opposition. We give the particulars of this case, with the proceedings which have resulted from it, at some length.

A hired kidnapper, of Norfolk, Va., named John Caphart, came to this city last week with papers prepared in Virginia, claiming a man called Shadrach as the slave of John Debee, of Norfolk, a purser in the United States navy. He applied to George T. Curtis, Esq., United States commissioner, for a warrant to arrest the fugitive under the Fugitive Slave Law, and it was granted. In the absence of Marshal Devans, the warrant was placed in the hands of Deputy Marshal Patrick Riley for execution.

This Riley is bail for Hughes and Knight, in the cases now pending against them on behalf of Craft and his wife.

The warrant was served at the Cornhill Coffee-house, Marshal Riley and an ex-constable named Byrnes going there on pretence of getting breakfast, and while the alleged Shadrach was unsuspectingly waiting on them, he was seized, as the property of U. S. Purser Debee, and hurried to the court-room, without even time to put off his waiter's apron. Like a man, he declared that, whatever might be the decree of the court, he would not be carried to Virginia with breath in his body.

Seth J. Thomas, Esq., of previous notoriety in the Crafts case, appeared as counsel for the claimant. S. E. Sewall, Esq., Ellis Gray Loring, Esq., Charles List, Esq., Richard H. Dana, Esq., and Robert H. Morris, Esq., volunteered for the defendant. The counsel for the defence, after conferring with the prisoner, stated that they needed time to prepare for the defence.

Thomas declared that he was ready, and as the proceedings were to be

summary, he urged that the hearing should proceed at once. Mr. Sewall replied, that the very circumstance that the claimant was ready, and had been preparing for days, perhaps for weeks, while the defendant had been snatched up but a few minutes before from about his daily business, without any notice at all, was in itself ample reason for delay. Mr. Commissioner Curtis expressed his opinion that summary proceedings could not mean proceedings without giving the defendant any chance for defending himself, and he decided to allow time for that purpose till Tuesday morning next.

The counsel for the defendant then requested to see the papers, which were read accordingly for their information, and afterwards delivered into their hands. These documents consisted of a petition of Caphart to Geo. T. Curtis, Esq., stating that he was the agent of Debee, the owner of Shadrach, who escaped from him in Norfolk, Va., May 3, 1850; a Letter of Attorney, signed by Debee on the 1st of February, 1851, with the seal of Richard H. Baker, Judge of the Circuit Court of the city of Norfolk, certified by the clerk of the court, John Williams; a paper in which Judge Baker certified that John Debee appears before him and states the escape of his slave Shadrach, and gives his title; a deposition, in which William Robertson testifies that he knew Shadrach as formerly belonging to Mrs. Hutchins, that he was afterwards sold at a sheriff's sale to John Higgins, and that Higgins sold him to Debee. He had heard Shadrach speak of Debee as his master. He was thirty years old. Another deposition of John H. Higgins pretends to establish his selling to Debee. In another deposition, William Marcus testifies that he saw Shadrach in Boston, who said he had run away from Mr. Debee, and asked him to carry a letter for him to Virginia. Thereupon, R. H. Baker, judge as aforesaid, adjudges that Shadrach was held to service as a slave of Debee, and gives a general description of him—applicable to a hundred men in Boston, as well as to the one arrested.

After the reading of the documents, the Commissioner postponed the further hearing of the case till 10 o'clock, A.M., on Tuesday.

The court-room was then gradually cleared. "We," says the editor of the *Commonwealth*, "reached the court-room at about half-past 1, P.M. A good many coloured people and a very few white ones were standing in the corridors, conversing earnestly, but quietly. The representatives of the press were just passing out of the court-room, and as they passed out, we passed in. The room was nearly empty. The claimant's lawyer had left, and the Judge had vacated his seat. There were no persons in the room except the Deputy Marshal Riley, four or five assistants, the prisoner and five of his friends, besides ourself. Mr. Riley said—'I wish you to say, gentlemen, which of you are counsel, for we cannot admit more than two, and I will thank the rest to retire.' No reply being given, he said, 'Gentlemen, we are ready to sell, if you have any propositions to make. I will give twenty-five dollars out of my own pocket to buy the man.' We remarked, that if there was any selling, we hoped it would be of the fellows who were so ready as he to be sold to the kidnappers. He appeared offended at this remark, and said he only did what he was obliged to do. We replied, we thought no law could oblige a man to assist in such atrocious villany. Upon this, Mr. Deputy Marshal ordered us out of the room, calling upon his assistants to execute the disagreeable duty of showing us the door. They were dilatory, and we were very loth to leave the temporary prison in any haste. We stayed, and conversed with the prisoner, an intelligent, smart-looking man, who planted himself on the Declaration of Independence and the Bible. We assured him we thought he was right in so doing. The few friends, after a few minutes' consultation, withdrew, leaving only one coloured brother and ourself, with the Marshal, his posse, and victim. We were just on the point of leaving. Just at this moment a circumstance occurred, which was over in less time than it will take us to tell it, and altered the face of things entirely. There was a 'Hurrah!' outside, in the passage at the head of the stairs. A decided pressure commenced against the door on the left hand of the Judge's bench. Patrick Riley and his brave little posse all rushed to it to keep it shut, holding against it with all their might. In the meantime, there was nobody to guard the prisoner but our coloured friend aforesaid, who seemed sadly to lack patriotism for that purpose. Shadrach was making for the door on the Court-Street side. An officer, we think it was Riley's brother, started and headed him off from that, and he was then making for the opposite door, which was left unguarded. Riley, in holding the door, sang out, 'Shoot him! shoot him!' to the officer. The officer, probably not having any pistol, ran and seized the sacred 'sword of justice,' and raised one of the windows as if to call for help. He had not time to call, for just then the door partially opened, and a stream of men began to rush in, Pat Riley being squeezed behind the door.

"The Traveller speaks of the officers at the door being 'kicked, cuffed, and knocked about in every direction,' but we can testify that nothing of this sort occurred inside. Not an officer was struck or menaced there. The half dozen men who first entered ran up to the prisoner, and invited him to walk out. He accepted the invitation, and certainly not more than fifteen persons had entered the room, before they were all walking out, 'Shadrach' in the midst—an old coloured man, who had picked up and drawn the sword of justice, bringing up the rear. Neither did any officer



that we saw, offer any resistance to the egress of Shadrach with his friends.

"We have no doubt that the few men whom Marshal Riley was able to call to his aid, did all they dared do for their slaveholding employers, but they could not wholly conquer the higher law either in or out of themselves. Riley had taken the precaution to send to the Navy Yard to request Commodore Downes to take the alleged slave into custody, but the Commodore refused, having no authority to turn the United States Navy Yard into an accommodation for kidnappers.

"Nothing more has been seen or heard of 'Shadrach' in Boston. We hope, and have no doubt, that he is far beyond the reach of his merciless pursuers. Who dares to call this a Christian land?"

Subsequent information brings the following gratifying fact:—

The *Toronto Globe*, of the 25th February last, announces the arrival in that city, on the Saturday previous, of the fugitive Shadrach, escaped unscathed from his republican tormentors, to live hereafter, without peril to his personal liberty, under the protection of the Red Cross of England.

#### ARREST ON A CHARGE OF AIDING IN THE ESCAPE.

Elizur Wright, one of the editors of the *Commonwealth* newspaper, and Charles G. Davis, attorney-at-law, were arrested on Monday, under a warrant issued by Hon. B. F. Hallett, U. S. Commissioner, on charge of aiding in the escape of the slave Shadrach. The complaint was sworn to by Hon. George Lunt, District Attorney, and alleges that the defendants did, with force and arms, aid, abet and assist "one Shadrach Wilkins, a fugitive from justice or labour, to escape from John Caphart, agent of John Debee, claimant of said fugitive in the United States Court Room," on Saturday last. The parties were forthwith conveyed before Commissioner Hallett for examination. Mr. Lunt appeared for the Government; but the defendants desiring a delay, Mr. Hallett postponed the hearing until Tuesday, requiring Messrs. Wright and Davis to give bonds in the sum of 3,000 dollars each for their appearance at the time, which they did. S. E. Sewall, Esq., gave bonds for Mr. Wright; and J. Thomas Stevenson, Esq., is the surety for Mr. Davis's appearance.

On Tuesday, John Foye, a coloured man, was arrested for aiding in the rescue of Wilkins. His examination was postponed by Mr. Hallett until Thursday, and Mr. W. W. Marjorum gave bonds for his appearance in the sum of 3,000 dollars.

At 12 o'clock, the examination of Elizur Wright, on the charge above named, took place before Commissioner Hallett. The examination was continued through the afternoon, and adjourned to Wednesday morning. The testimony against Mr. Wright was somewhat contradictory, and the character of many of the witnesses is not such as to lend force to their words.

On Wednesday morning, James Scott, a coloured man, was arrested on a charge of aiding the aforesaid Shadrach to escape from the kidnappers.

#### PROCLAMATION BY THE PRESIDENT.

Washington, Feb. 18th, 1851.

The following proclamation by President Fillmore was officially announced:—

Whereas, information has been received that sundry lawless persons, principally persons of colour, combined and confederated together for the purpose of opposing, by force, the execution of the laws of the United States, did, at Boston, Massachusetts, on the fifteenth of this month, make a violent assault on the Marshal or Deputy Marshal of the United States for the District of Massachusetts, in the Court House, and did overcome the said officers, and did by force take from their custody a person arrested as a fugitive slave, and then and there a prisoner, lawfully holden by the Marshal or Deputy Marshal of the United States, and other scandalous outrages did commit, in violation of law.

And, therefore, to the end that the authority of the laws may be maintained, and those concerned in violating them brought to immediate and condign punishment, I have issued this, my Proclamation, calling on well-disposed citizens to support the laws of their country, and commanding all officers, civil and military, who shall be found in the vicinity of this outrage, to aid and assist, by all means in their power, in quelling this and other such combinations, and to assist the Marshal and his deputies in recapturing the above-named person. And I do especially direct that prosecutions be commenced against all persons who shall have made themselves aiders or abettors in this flagitious offence; and I do further command, that the District Attorney of the United States, and all other persons concerned in the administration or execution of the laws in the United States, cause the foregoing offenders, and all such as aided and abetted or assisted them, or shall be found to have harboured or concealed such fugitive, contrary to law, to be immediately arrested and proceeded with according to law.

Given under my hand and the seal of the United States, this 18th day of February, 1851.

[L. S.]

Daniel Webster, Secretary of State.

MILLARD FILLMORE.

#### UNITED STATES SENATE.

February 18.

Mr. Clay's resolution of inquiry, asking the President for information concerning the Boston riot, and also whether it was necessary to pass a law to enforce the Fugitive Slave Law, was taken up—as follows:—

"Resolved, That the President be requested to lay before the Senate, if compatible with the public interest, any information he may possess in regard to an alleged recent case of forcible resistance to the execution of

a law of the United States in the city of Boston, and to communicate to the Senate what measures he had adopted to meet the occurrence, and whether, in his opinion, any additional legislation is necessary to meet the exigency of the case, and to more rigorously execute existing laws."

Mr. Clay said, in presenting his resolution, that the debate would not be in order until information was first obtained, but he must be permitted to say, he was astounded at reading the newspaper reports, that such a violation of law should have taken place [in Boston.] He shuddered at the thought of officers of justice being maltreated by a mob, and the prisoner rescued, in the face of law-abiding citizens of the city of Boston. Who committed the outrage? (said Mr. Clay.) Was it our own citizens? No! but a band of blacks. Must the laws of the country be thus trampled under foot? Must the Government yield to the mobocracy, or stand up firmly and vindicate the laws? This was the object of his resolution, and therefore he would urge its passage.

Mr. John Davis said that the law was offensive, and before arriving at any conclusion he must wait for the real facts. The people of his State had too much respect for the laws to see them trampled upon. They would let the laws work out their own salvation, be they good or evil. He thought no attempt should be made to stifle opinions on this all-important question.

Mr. Clay thought the Fugitive Law would never be repealed, if such outrages were permitted. He could not express himself in terms strong enough against those who burst into the temple of justice, and carried out, with savage shouts of joy, a prisoner—were he black or white.

Mr. Davis said he was as strong in his denunciation as any man, and thought the only way for the people to overcome an odious law was an appeal to the ballot box, and not to brutal force.

Senator Hale, to a very great extent, favoured the ground taken by Mr. Clay. Mobs, said Mr. H., belong not to one city, but were of daily occurrence in various places. Yet no one pretended to say the whole community were at fault. As matters now stood, the Government were about to take a step between the sublime and the ridiculous. He hoped the troops would not be sent to Boston to put down a mob of negroes. He had no doubt but what the State was competent to suppress the most serious disturbance which could be expected. Some further debate took place, and the resolution was finally agreed to.

Mr. Seward presented a petition from five hundred citizens of Hudson, N. Y., praying for the immediate repeal of the Fugitive Slave Law, and moved it be referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. Magnum moved that the motion to refer be laid on the table. Carried, without a count.

Mr. Seward then presented a petition from the same place, for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. He moved for a reference, but Mr. Clay moved to lay it on the table, and there it is.

Mr. Hamlin presented a petition for the repeal of the Fugitive Slave Law. This shared the same fate.

Our space will not permit us to refer at length to the various cases of hardship and cruelty which are continually resulting from the operation of the Fugitive Law. But it may be easily conceived, that if, in such a city as Boston, cases of kidnapping are now becoming of common occurrence, that, throughout the States, determined efforts will be made to carry out to the full its obnoxious provisions. The *Commonwealth*, of a late date, gives the following:—

"LOOK OUT FOR THE KIDNAPPERS.—The bloodhounds of Virginia taskmasters were about their old business again yesterday, in this city. Their movements were known, and their ends defeated. Attempts were made to arrest no less than three of our citizens, who have been long residents of this city. Two of them have families, and are members of Christian churches! If these Southern hirelings suppose they are to be allowed to drag into eternal bondage the fathers and mothers of Massachusetts boys and girls, they are mistaken. They have engaged in a bad enterprise, with the wrong set of people.

"The split manifested by certain men, yesterday, from whom we did not dare hope so much, is certainly a matter of rejoicing to the friends of liberty. The gentlemen to whom we refer, did a great work for poor crushed humanity, and we know they slept better for it last night. They looked happier after it, at any rate."

We have similar accounts from Philadelphia, Pittsburg, &c. &c. Cases are occurring in which fugitives who have escaped, even so long as twenty years ago, are pursued after. Multitudes are still rushing to Canada, fearing that by remaining their liberty might be imperiled.

#### HENRY LONG IN GEORGIA.

This poor victim of the combined patriotism of the Union Committee and the judicial profligacy of Judge Judson, is advertised for sale again at Atlanta, Ga. He has probably given some indications of not being duly impressed with the privilege of being restored to the bosoms of the patriarchy, as the Georgia papers express a good deal of indignation, that that and other States of the extreme South should be made "the receptacles for all the vicious and unruly negroes of Virginia, Maryland, and North Carolina." The *Atlanta Journal* says:—

"We are assured that the number of this class sent South, the present year, has been unusually large. One thing is certain, they are not calculated to add either to the security of our fire-sides or the value of our present negro property."

#### PROSCRIPTION OF COLOURED PEOPLE.

The Indiana State Convention for forming a new constitution has adopted the following provisions in relation to free-coloured people:—

No negro or mulatto shall be permitted to settle in the State after the adoption of the new constitution.



Contracts with negroes or mulattoes coming into the State thereafter to be void, and all persons suffering them, or encouraging them to remain in the State, to be fined not less than ten dollars, nor more than 500 dollars. (A convenient range for magistrates who may desire to indulge amiable little spite of their own.)

A colonisation fund to be established out of the fines under these provisions.

These sections to be submitted separately to the people.

It does seem to us most execrable meanness for a State, with a million of white inhabitants, to pronounce an edict of expulsion against some eight or ten thousand poor coloured people, and then plunder them to obtain the means of transporting them.

The slaveholding State of Kentucky has passed a Bill in one branch of its Legislature, providing as follows:—

"That in each county the assessors shall annually ascertain and make report to the clerk of the County Court the name, age, sex, and colour of every free negro and mulatto, and that the clerk shall keep a register of all such free negroes and mulattoes, and in the month of July of every year shall issue a summons against all such persons, within certain ages, residing in the county, commanding their appearance before him at his office, there to exhibit their free papers, if they have any; and in the absence of such papers, to produce such evidence as they can of their freedom. The Bill further provides that the clerk shall make record of the name, age, sex, colour, height, and visible marks of such as appear before him, stating when they were emancipated, or whether they were born free, and if emancipated, by whom. For his services the clerk is to receive a fee, to be charged against the free negro or mulatto. If any free negro or mulatto fail to appear, or fail to pay the fee, or fail to comply with the law in other respects, he is to be informed against at the next County Court, and to be subject to a fine, not to exceed ten dollars. If the fine and costs of prosecution are not immediately paid, the convict is to be hired out to any one who will pay the amount for the shortest period of service. The money raised in this way is to be applied to the colonisation of free negroes in Liberia.

"Another section of the Bill provides, that if any free negro acquires in any way, except by descent, a title to real estate or slaves, such real estate or slaves shall be forfeited to the Commonwealth."

#### ANTI-SLAVERY MEETING AT TORONTO, CANADA WEST.

(Abridged from the "Globe.")

On Wednesday, the 26th of February last, a great and most enthusiastic anti-slavery demonstration was made in the City Hall—His Worship the Mayor occupied the chair. Rev. Dr. Willis opened the meeting with an appropriate prayer. The Chairman then stated briefly the object of the meeting, and called upon Rev. Mr. McClure to move the first resolution.

Mr. McClure said, the resolution entrusted to him was to the effect:—

"That slavery, that is, the wanton and forcible bringing into bondage, and retaining indefinitely in that state, of rational beings, is an outrage on the laws of humanity, and of the Bible; and that the continued existence of the practice on this continent is just cause of grief, and demands our best exertions, by all lawful and practical means, for its extinction."

Slavery was defined in his resolution as the wanton and forcible bringing of rational beings into bondage, and retaining them indefinitely in that state. Now, he had not to draw a picture of what slavery is, in order to prove to the audience what was meant by the term. It was defined in the words of the resolution; and it appeared to him that his present duty was simply to sustain the facts therein stated, by a reference to what they all knew. They knew that there were in existence, at present, on this continent, three millions of rational creatures—beings like themselves—men, women and children, designated by the law as chattels, and so entirely in their owners' power, as to be bound or loosed, bought or sold, worked or fed, housed, lashed, driven, imprisoned, insulted, dishonoured, maimed, hunted down or shot down, just as their owners please. This is what is called in the resolution, wanton and forcible bringing into bondage. He needed not to stop to prove these statements; the papers of the city, and the communications they received from almost every city in the neighbouring States, fully sustained the facts he had so briefly referred to. No relationship or affection was respected in this state of slavery. There was no respect paid to the relationship of father or children, of husband and wife, or of members of churches professing Christianity, for the husband was liable to be sold away from his wife, and the wife to be torn away from her family and sold into bondage. It is the same with regard to children, and there is no deference paid to their affections or ties of relationship. The law of the slave States is, that the children follow the law of their mother—that is, the mother being a slave, the children, no matter who the father may be, are slaves in consequence of the mother being a slave. The result is, that the fathers of the children are not unfrequently their masters, and thus their

own children are their slaves, and they treat them with no greater lenity than they do those bought by them either from bondage or from other men. They are refused education only so far as their instruction may benefit their masters. They are taught various trades and branches of labour, so far as that labour or these trades will promote the interests of their masters; but they are not educated as men and women ought to be educated. The owners of such property knowing well that instruction will make them all the more uneasy in their bonds, and particularly the instructions of our holy religion. It is a well-known fact, that a free-man, though he take away the life of a slave, may have little difficulty in securing his retreat, and obtaining impunity for his crime; yet if that freeman persist in teaching a slave knowledge—particularly the knowledge of the Bible of God—there is no more mercy for that man, he is seized, fined, and imprisoned, and the most relentless feelings are shown to such a man. It is too bad, and what no man has a right to do with his fellow-man, unless he is convicted of crime, or of breaking the just laws of his country. It is too bad to chain and bind, and flog and sell his bones and muscles; but it was far worse to keep the key of knowledge out of his hand, and to shut out from him the knowledge of that eternal life in the Word of God, which is so capable of ministering comfort to the wretched. Not only is such conduct repugnant to our humanity, but to the whole teaching of the spirit of the Bible, and it is in this view an impossibility for a man to carry out in his own heart, or practice, the teachings of that holy Bible, and be an abettor of slavery. "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself," tells us the grand object for which we circulate the Scriptures, and for which we bear Christ's banner to the remotest corners of the earth. Now, slavery is entirely opposed to this principle, and it is utterly impossible, under such a system, to preach from that text—"Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself."

The rev. gentleman sat down amidst great applause.

Professor Esson, in seconding the resolution, observed:—It may be said, what right have you to meddle with the affairs of other communities? If to intermeddle with the affairs of our neighbours in the same community be impertinent, to interfere with the affairs of another independent country is inconsistent with the rights and the laws of nations. But there are things which cannot be made exclusive property, nor even allowed to be the exclusive concern of any one community or nation. The sacred, universal, indefeasible rights of man, all over the globe, are the common concern, and must be the common cause of all men—of all nations. The prerogatives and rights of humanity admit not of circumscription by time or place. The Divine charter of free agency is given to every brother of the race, and we have no more right to despoil him of it than we have to absolve him from the responsibility of every free and moral agent to the most high God. No man, no nation has a right to say that this universal right of humanity is not their own cause. This all men are not only permitted, but are bound to consider as their own cause—as what most intimately and essentially affects every individual and every nation. What! shall a man see a brother or sister of the human race trampled upon, and must he look on with cold unconcern? Must he say, as was said to Judas by the murderers of the Saviour—"What is that to us?" Must he say—This is no concern of mine, "Am I my brother's keeper?" No; this is the common interest, the common duty, the imperative duty of all who bear the human name—of all who love the cause of humanity—of all who love that God to whom the most unspeakable outrage is done in reducing the being made after his own image, to the condition of the brute, and depriving the soul of all its high prerogatives as the offspring of Him whose inspiration gave it. Could a pagan auditor, a heathen assembly in a Roman theatre, upon the utterance of the lines of one of their poets, "I am a man, and nothing that affects humanity can be indifferent to me"—could even the Romans, accustomed as they were to the ferocious sports of their amphitheatres, rise at once and express their sympathy with the language of their dramatist—and shall Christian men not feel as a heathen or pagan community, and that they have a right to speak and to be heard in a cause which annihilates all conventional distinction? They had a right to use all the means which God and nature have put in their power to remove an evil which is a plague-spot upon the face of God's earth. Their great effort should be to combine, as Christian men, and as communities, to form an enlarged and divine mission for the purpose of saving from degradation their brethren. Here was a great work, surely, very different from that undertaken by the crusaders in the dark ages, which only deluged the earth with blood. It is the duty of Britain, as well as the United States, to see that this common guilt is expiated. They are called upon to see whether the combined wisdom and intelligence of Christians, and of civilised men, enlisted in the cause of religion and humanity, cannot teach the world that it is possible for once to unite in a truly Christian enterprise worthy of the Divine and beneficent religion they profess. The chairman having put the resolution, it was carried.

Dr. Willis said, the resolution entrusted to him was in the following words:—

"That, entertaining the feelings of brethren and friends to the inhabitants of the neighbouring States (in the most part united to us by a common origin and common language) and declaiming all desire to inter-



meddle officiously with their internal affairs, we feel we but take the privilege of our common humanity in asserting that the slavery enforced under their laws is not to be confounded with ordinary oppression, however severe, either political or domestic, civil, military, or naval; but is the forced servitude in perpetuity of the helpless poor, unaccused, untried, and uncondemned; imposed on them by a power which they cannot resist, supported by laws in which they have no voice. These laws are grievously aggravated by the Fugitive Slave Bill, are at open variance with the best interests of man, as endowed by our Great Creator with the privilege 'of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness'—privileges and rights always inalienable, except when forfeited by crime charged and proved."

He could not do better than begin where his worthy friend left off, and reiterate the sentiments he so well urged towards the conclusion of his address, that to consult together and to act together in this cause, even on a soil that is itself happily free from the evil of which they complained, is no undue interference with any right of neighbourhood. It was well said, that no man should put away from him the cause of his fellow-creatures; and no one should feel himself free from the duty of endeavouring to vindicate the aggrieved. That is the duty of humanity—it is enforced upon them by the doctrines of Christianity. They had an answer to give in these words of the sacred Scriptures,—“Remember them who are in bonds, as being bound with them, and them that suffer adversity as being ourselves also in the body.” And he did remember, also, among the other sayings of Solomon, due therefore to his inspired wisdom—he remembered among his many aphorisms—with regard to those who are delivered to death—“If thou sayest, behold, we knew it not; doth not He that pondereth the heart consider it? and shall not He render to every man according to his works?” So that they were not only enjoined to vindicate the rights of the oppressed, but admonished also of the danger of being negligent in doing their part in this great work. The time has been when the word stranger and the word enemy were almost identical. It is happily not so now. The nations, in spite of themselves, are acknowledging that they must work together—that their interests are mutual; hence commercial interchanges, and commercial treaties, and political international communings. But in addition to that sort of communion between nations, and in addition to that which refers to self-preservation, there is a third sort of communion that they availed themselves of at this time, and ought to recognise in the spirit of friendship between country and country—the communion of moral sympathy. In seeking to do a neighbour's part, they would hasten to save others as they would save themselves from the guilt of great crime, and the danger of that crime being sanctioned and promoted by law, whether on this side or on the other side of the lines. It is but the business of philanthropy—it is but a manifestation of love to your fellow-creatures, thus to hasten forward, for the sake of the Americans, as well as for yourselves, the cause of civilisation and religion, and rational liberty and humanity. Let them tell the world as far as their feeble voices can sound, let the press of our city carry the message, that we regret, for the sake of the States of America—that we are ashamed, for the sake of our brethren of the same language, and of kindred origin—that they should have enacted a law which involves such an outrageous violation of the primary and fundamental rights of human beings as the Fugitive Slave Law. The relationship of man and servant, as owner and slave, exists by no contract, and there is no obligation binding on a man to remain a moment longer in bondage than he cannot possibly help; for there can be no violation or breach of contract where no contract exists. The man who seeks his way to the soil of freedom, ought to be congratulated and hailed by all the inhabitants of the civilised world. He had no hesitation in saying that if a slave can, and if the whole number can, either by confederation and united effort, or otherwise, secure their liberty, they have a right to take it. It is their natural right, and no man may question that right. Or if a man shall question that right, and shall say they have no right to take their liberty, he would ask him upon what footing he defended the obligation for that man to remain in servitude? It can only be on the ground of possession. The man might say he owned the slave, but could he show the right of transfer—where did he get him? Where did he get a right and title to him?

Mr. P. Brown said, that an important part of the resolution which he rose to second, had already been much alluded to by previous speakers, viz., the intermeddling with our neighbours in the United States. He was afraid that however courteous the language of our resolutions might be, our sensitive friends on the other side would still be offended. One argument for our interference had not been alluded to. If it was wrong to remonstrate with our neighbours on this great question, it must be wrong to propagate the Gospel in heathen and Mahomedan countries, for genuine Christianity broke down every system of civil oppression. In that case the American Missionary Societies must close their proceedings, for they had no right to expect that heathen and Mahomedan rulers would show more forbearance to them, than they were disposed to do to those who held the same precious faith with themselves. But Americans were not remarkable for their scrupulosity in interfering with their neighbours. It is not long since sympathisers from the other side were found on the Canadian soil. It was but yesterday since an outbreak in one of the

British kingdoms was fondly hailed at New York as the beginning of a rebellion, that might have torn to pieces the British empire—money was subscribed, and emissaries sent to support that movement. More recently still, when we had a family quarrel in Canada, the traces of which are already fast disappearing, the sympathisers were again at hand, and they flattered themselves, that because one house had been pulled down or destroyed, we were ready to pull down the whole, and walk into the Union. We meant no such interference as that with their concerns, but as neighbours, and having the same origin and professing the same faith, we had an undoubted right to appeal to them in behalf of the oppressed of their land. It was customary in the States to defend slavery on the ground that it was a British institution. Nothing could be more baseless than such a defence. If our neighbours really hated slavery, and did not roll it as a sweet morsel under their tongues, this would have been a most powerful argument for its abolition. It would have been sounded in every corner of the land—“Away with slavery—shall we leave this last trace of British oppression to disgrace our statute book?” African slavery was not originally a national movement of any country, but had its origin in the selfishness and cruelty of individuals. The first who stole men from Africa to make slaves of them, were the Portuguese, more than four centuries ago. They were followed by the Spaniards, more than fifty years later. For about two centuries Englishmen, to their disgrace, partook of the same atrocious trade. But the day of repentance at length arrived—Britain bought from the Spaniards and Portuguese their discontinuance of the slave-trade, a condition which they have never yet performed; and as a crowning act, gave twenty millions to ransom her own slaves from bondage,—money which was most cheerfully paid, although it was equal to all the diminution of the National Debt, after twenty years peace. Britain had come out victorious from an unexampled war, conquering all her enemies. That victory was infinitely more noble, for she then conquered herself. There was one thing he regretted in that transaction—it was, that the lion's share of the purchase-money was not given to the blacks, instead of being all given to the slaveholders. Suppose a judge had been empowered to receive the claims of both parties, he would have asked the slaveholders to specify the amount of theirs—this might have been set down in figures, and their loss calculated. But weigh that against the claims of the slaves, and what would it amount to? Who could calculate a compensation for the oppression and helpless bondage endured for generations by that suffering race? Two-thirds of the twenty millions should have been given to the blacks; and with the remaining third, the proprietors would have had far more than their fair proportion. The example of Britain in emancipating her slaves has been followed by France, Sweden, and Denmark, and even the Pacha of Egypt, and the semi-barbarous chiefs of the principalities of the Danube have set their bondmen free. Every movement lately on the European Continent has been in favour of freedom. In the United States it has retrograded. Go to Washington, and there we find, in their proud Capitol, the representatives of twenty millions of people, in the last year of the first half of the nineteenth century, legislating gravely for ten months—not to break the shackles of trade—not to benefit their own people, or the people of any other country—but to extend the area of slavery over other countries, where it does not exist. Unheard of cruelty! to conquer nations for such a purpose. It is without a parallel in the history of the world. But it may be said, a compromise was effected. True, California was admitted as a free State, and why? Because she refused to come in on any other terms, and because she carried in her hands a golden “tocher,” which the virtue of our Republican neighbours was incapable of resisting. To balance this great effort of magnanimity, the atrocious Slave Bill was passed, which cut the Union into two grand divisions—slaveholders and slave-catchers. Good men in their Legislatures have opposed this iniquitous measure, and that true patriot, Governor Seward, of New York, informed his countrymen that there was a *higher law* than any human enactment—the law of the Governor of the Universe, which was ever opposed to injustice and oppression. But he was ridiculed by his colleagues, and has been assailed for the noble sentiment by many public journals. These men seem to think that the Almighty has given up all control in the affairs of men, and they rush on the thick bosses of his buckler. They will yet discover that “He who sits in Heaven will have them in derision.” Slavery is doomed, and must fall, and let the people of Canada do their utmost in accomplishing that desirable result.

The Rev. Mr. Lille said, the resolution which will now be submitted directs your attention to a subject somewhat different from the preceding, more agreeable, and one for which he thought they would be prepared, by the able remarks which had been made. It is in these words:—

“That this meeting heartily bids God-speed to the noble and ever-increasing band of Christians and patriots in the United States—the truest friends, in this particular, of their country,—who publicly plead, without fear or favour, the cause of their enslaved fellow-subjects, by all constitutional and Christian means, pursuing this object with singleness of aim, and not mixing it up with ulterior and irrelevant designs.”

Rev. Mr. Roaf said he had great pleasure in seconding the resolution. He thought it right to make an addition; and it was to the effect that in



1846, he and Dr. Willis were deputed by a meeting like the present, the last one, he believed, held in Toronto on the subject, to represent the municipality of Toronto in an anti-slavery meeting in New York. On that occasion, he not only attended meetings in New York, but also in Philadelphia, and his observations led him to conclude that while there is an immense amount of anti-slavery feeling in the Union, there are very few who are prepared for real anti-slavery measures. They regard abolitionism as subordinate to other subjects, which are really of inferior importance. They are hampered with fear about State rights, the danger of sacrificing the interests of churches, the difficulty of removing slavery, and so on; instead of first resolving that slavery shall be removed at any cost, and then sitting down to devise the means. It was so once in England; at last England resolved "*that slavery should be abolished*," and then sought the means of doing it, and did do it, and thenceforth the name of slave was heard no more on British soil. The object of this meeting is not merely to assert the principles of liberty, but to redeem to humanity its rights, which cannot be counterbalanced by any considerations, whatever interest or policy be at stake. If they have a right to keep a nuisance at our doors, we have a right to denounce it. He looked upon the Americans as making one of the grandest political experiments that has ever been attempted; but he would rather see their Union blown to atoms, than that slavery should continue. If they will not do away with slavery by moral means, slavery will remedy itself by physical means, because the multiplication of the coloured population in some parts of the South is much greater than that of the whites. He trusted that news of this meeting and the formation of an Anti-slavery Association would reach the slave, and cheer him in his efforts for self-emancipation. He hoped, indeed, that the Society will act as a kind of suspension-bridge between here and the States, helping the poor negroes to escape from bondage, as well as to find employment and subsistence when in Canada. They heard of toasts being drunk in rapturous applause, when the sentiment was given, "that the Glorious Republic is the only place where man can be free." But while America shouted liberty to Poland, to Hungary and to Ireland, they could join them in the shout, and add—liberty to man. This meeting would have its weight. They would hear of it, and may hereafter hear of the speeches and resolutions adopted on this side. Besides, the people of colour will hear that there is an Anti-slavery Society in Toronto. He hoped that efforts would be made to help those who escaped from the land of liberty to find an asylum, and to procure employment for them.

The resolution was put and carried unanimously.

Mr. Thomas Plummer proposed the next resolution:—

"That a Society be now formed, to be called 'the Anti-slavery Society of Canada,' the object of which shall be to aid in the extinction of slavery all over the world, by means exclusively lawful and peaceable, moral and religious, such as the diffusing of useful information and argument, by tracts, newspapers, lectures, and correspondence, and by manifesting sympathy with the houseless and homeless victims of slavery flying to our soil."

Rev. Mr. Geikie briefly seconded the motion, which was carried unanimously.

It was moved by Capt. Stuart, seconded by Mr. T. J. Short, and carried:—

"That a committee, now to be named, shall be appointed, with suitable officers, who shall conduct the business of the Society, have power to make bye-laws, and shall meet on an early day for that purpose—three to be a quorum."

It was then moved by Mr. Christie, and carried:—

"That the office-bearers consist of—Rev. M. Willis, D.D., president; Rev. William McClure, secretary; Capt. Charles Stuart, corresponding secretary; Andrew Hamilton, treasurer; with a committee."

Rev. Mr. Roaf moved a vote of thanks to the mayor for presiding.

#### BRITISH GUIANA.—AFRICAN, COOLIE, AND MADEIRAN IMMIGRATION.

At a meeting of the Court of Policy, held on the 14th of February last, Governor Barkly laid the following despatches before the Court:—

The first related to African immigration, and, from the tenor of this and its enclosures, it appeared to be the opinion of the immigration agent at Sierra Leone, and of the governor at that settlement, that there was no practicable method of carrying out the measures of Government to promote the immigration of Kroomen to the West Indies, but by establishing depôts on the coast where the immigrants might be collected and registered, in anticipation of the arrival of vessels to take them to their destination. The present plan for procuring a continued stream of immigration from the Kroo country to the West Indies was asserted to be an absolute failure; and the principal reason assigned was, that the promises hitherto made to the people had scarcely, in a single instance, been performed, those who had gone out not having been returned, as agreed upon, to their own country.

The governor said, he did not know how Mr. Fisher (the immigration agent at Sierra Leone) could make that charge against the colony, when he had been distinctly apprised that if, on the arrival of large vessels at Sierra Leone with returned immigrants, he would send the Kroomen to their country in small vessels, the colony would cheerfully defray the expense.

Mr. Rose did not know what Mr. Fisher was now, but he had been formerly an extensive woodcutter at Sierra Leone.

The despatch from the governor of Sierra Leone added, that those immigrants who had returned, had been found to have acquired expensive habits, which unfitted them for the primitive state of life which their countrymen led at home.

The next despatch from the Secretary of State enclosed a copy of the correspondence which had taken place between the Foreign Office and the British consul at Madeira. The consul had been in communication with the governor of the island, and had laid before him the various documents transmitted from the Foreign Office, including the correspondence between Governor Barkly and the Portuguese consul at Demerara, which he had also had translated and published in the Madeira newspapers. It appeared that great misrepresentations had been made to the governor of Madeira, but his excellency was less opposed to the immigration of the inhabitants of that island than to the mode of conducting it; and he complained of the clandestine deportation of the people on the ground of its demoralising effect, and the encouragement it afforded to the escape of offenders from justice.

The last despatch from the Secretary of State was on the subject of Coolie immigration, and enclosed a long correspondence between the Colonial Office and the India Board. Earl Grey approved of Governor Barkly's willingness to accede to the wishes of the Court of Policy, but there were objections to the ordinances which could only be removed by the modification of some of their enactments. The Coolies could not be removed from their country but under certain conditions, one of which was that they should be returned after a given time, and the Directors of the East India Company would not give up that point. They alleged that all the alterations which had been made from the Mauritius ordinance were to the disadvantage of the labourers, and particularly that the taxes and fines imposed upon the Coolies were much too high. Earl Grey referred them to the high rate of wages paid in British Guiana, but they replied that it was not high enough to remove the objection, considering the price of living. Orders had been issued for the number of Coolies for the season to be sent out before these ordinances were received, and could not be countermanded; and if the Court of Policy was inclined to continue Coolie immigration under modified regulations, his lordship would do his best to make arrangements with the Directors of the East India Company; but if the Court of Policy did not consider it necessary to continue such immigration, he would not order any more Coolies next season. He would not, however, advise her Majesty to adopt any step with regard to the ordinances until the Court of Policy should have come to a conclusion.

The first communication from the India Board was to the effect, that for the reasons stated in the enclosed (and which were adverted to in Earl Grey's despatch) the Court of Directors were decidedly of opinion that the ordinances should not be confirmed. In almost every instance the provisions of the Mauritius ordinance had been altered, and rendered more unfavourable for the labourer, and the penalties were far too severe. The Court of Directors were also decidedly of opinion, that if the papers containing the terms upon which immigrants were to be engaged were fully explained to the Coolies, they would refuse to emigrate. In reply to a letter from the Colonial Office, in which the attention of the Court of Directors was called to the high rate of wages paid for labour in the colony of British Guiana, they contended that the amount of wages paid the Coolies in Mauritius was clear gain, since the labourers were provided with food, clothing, medical attendance, and lodging. Earl Grey was requested to consider the length of the voyage from India to British Guiana, and the total absence of all commercial communication, which would of itself preclude the Coolies from returning by their own means. The Court of Directors must therefore insist upon the return passage, as well as a relaxation of the taxes and penalties.

At a subsequent meeting of the Court, the following communication, in reference to Coolie immigration, was read:—"Letter from Mr. J. T. White, Immigration Agent in the East Indies for British Guiana and Trinidad. It was dated at Calcutta, the 8th November, 1850, and stated that he arrived there on the 1st, and found about 500 labourers in Mr. Caird's yard for Mauritius, who, in general, presented the same appearance as the last few cargoes sent to British Guiana. Many of them, however, were returned immigrants from Mauritius, and these were much better-looking people than the others. Among them were some who were employed by the planters of Mauritius to act as agents, having their expenses paid, and to be remunerated according to the number of immigrants they carried back. Through the exertion and influence of these agents, Mr. Caird had no trouble in procuring immigrants for Mauritius. The parties so employed as the agents of the planters went out into the villages, and the Coolies came into the yard and were provided for until there was a vessel ready to despatch them in. Until the number for the season was made up for Mauritius, Mr. Caird would not collect any for the West Indies; but even if this was not the case, Mr. White stated, that according to his instructions he could do nothing for this colony until he received copies of the new immigration ordinances. The stoppage of immigration from the East Indies to British Guiana had had a very unfavourable effect, and its renewal would not be attended with much success until confidence could be restored. This would in a great degree depend on the return of immigrants from this colony, and the success they had met with here. He therefore recommended that no time should be lost in providing a back passage for such as were entitled to it. Their savings would induce others to follow their example, and Mr. White suggested that it might be desirable, previous to their embarkation for India, to distribute, among the best conducted, medals or badges of distinction. The orders for Mauritius were for so many thousand men, and as many women and children of both sexes as would accompany them. Food was very abundant, a large harvest of rice having been reaped, and living was, consequently, very cheap. This circumstance might render labourers disinclined to emigrate at present. It was Mr. White's intention to visit Madras, as soon as possible, and also the provinces where the cane was cultivated, in the hope of making engagements with labourers accustomed to agricultural pursuits; and he had no doubt that, as soon as confidence was restored, immigrants would be found willing to proceed to this colony in numbers to any extent required."



## The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

TUESDAY, APRIL 1st, 1851.

The space occupied by the concluding part of Messrs. G. W. Alexander and Candler's notices of the British West India colonies visited by them in 1850, precludes the possibility of our doing more, in the present *Reporter*, than to call special attention to it, and to the several practical suggestions with which it concludes. We feel that our excellent friends, by giving the results of their inquiries and observations to the public, have laid all parties interested in the cultivation of the colonies, and in the elevation of the coloured race, under great obligations. If the West Indians are wise, they will avail themselves of the hints given, in a spirit of entire friendliness, by these intelligent travellers; and British philanthropists may discover, from the same sources, the most useful channels through which their beneficence may flow. The real prosperity of the colonies is a thing which we most heartily desire, and one way of promoting it we believe to be the faithful portraiture of the errors which have been committed, whether in legislation or in practice, and the suggestion of appropriate remedies, such as those proposed by Messrs. Alexander and Candler, whose late mission to the emancipated colonies was undertaken in a spirit of pure good-will, and will, we sincerely hope, be followed by the most beneficial consequences.

We have before us a large accumulation of papers on the subject of immigration into the British emancipated colonies, from which it is perfectly clear to us, that the planters, or rather those who represent them in this country, have really learnt nothing from its past failures, and are as mad as ever for its continuance and extension.

The cholera, which has, unhappily, so deeply afflicted Jamaica, and which, we regret to say, has not yet disappeared from the colony, is made the occasion for an importunate demand on the Home Government for immigrants, to supply the wants occasioned by the ravages of that terrible disease. The House of Assembly, as far back as December last, asserted that "at least 40,000," principally of the labouring classes, being one-tenth of the whole population, had fallen victims to the fatal malady, and prayed that Government would "order all captured Africans to be sent to Jamaica," and "adopt other measures for the supply of free immigrants from Africa." This demand of the Assembly has been well backed up at home, by certain merchants interested in the cultivation and commerce of Jamaica, and by the West India Associations of Glasgow and Bristol, though in more measured terms. Interpreted by the island press, which is under the control of a certain portion of the planters, the demand for "the supply of free immigrants from Africa" resolves itself into a renewal of the slave-trade. The *Jamaica Standard and Despatch* says:—"It is well known, from private sources, that large numbers of slaves are being congregated on the coast, or near it, on behalf of the Cuban slavers, and they will assuredly be shipped, in defiance of all the British squadron can do. A cargo or two may be captured in the chase, but the great mass will find their way to Cuba, and will be placed on the estates, under the names of those who have died of the cholera. Would it not be a merciful intervention, then, for the British Government to permit planters and merchants interested in this island to go to the coast, and ransom these unfortunates, and so save them from the life-long slavery which must otherwise be their portion? And it would be no difficult task to accomplish, for it is well known that the rapacity of the African kidnapper is only equalled by his treachery and want of faith. And if a British trader were to go to him, and offer him a string of beads or a glass of rum more than the Cuban slaver, the living cargo would be turned over to him at once." Now, this view of the case finds an exponent and supporter in the British House of Commons, in the person of that great liberal, Mr. JOSEPH HUME! The specious plea of humanity which the Editor and the member set up in defence of this outrageous proposal, is soon disposed of, by the statement of the fact, that you will not lessen the supply of slaves to Cuba by the means suggested, but will increase the internal slave-trade in Africa, with all its attendant horrors, in proportion as this horrid scheme is attempted to be carried out. Lord Grey, however, is not indisposed to assist the planters of Jamaica in obtaining additional labourers. They will be allowed a fair share of the liberated Africans captured by the cruisers, which will be sent to them at the expense of this country, but his lordship says:—"With respect to the introduction of free immigrants from Africa, I concur with the Assembly in thinking that it would be highly beneficial if it could be accomplished, but you are aware that every endeavour which has hitherto been made to procure free immigrants from Africa has failed; and a report, which has very recently reached me, of the last attempt, which was made only a few months ago, to obtain immigrants from the Kroo coast, is not encouraging as to the prospect which exists of greater success attending any further experiments of the same kind."

After this, we trust we shall hear nothing more about "free emigrants from Africa." There is, however, a source whence a supply of efficient labourers may be obtained for Jamaica, provided

the conditions on which it is based are just and honourable—we allude to the free people of colour in the United States and Canada; but we warn the West Indians and the Government, that lengthened contracts to labour, made out of the colony, and a system of taxation so adjusted as to bear on the emigrants so as to compel labour to pay the same, will be fatal to such a measure. No scheme will, or ought to be successful, which does not provide perfect liberty of action to the emigrants in the selection of their employers and employments; perfect right of locomotion, to go whithersoever their necessities or their inclinations may direct; and all the privileges and protection which British subjects can claim from the Government. We counsel our coloured friends in the United States not to be led astray upon these points, and to listen to none but their friends, when proposals to emigrate are presented to them. They cannot be too cautious how they commit themselves.

The Fugitive Slave Law of the United States is kept in vigorous operation; and so determined is the Executive authority that it shall not be evaded or resisted, that it has issued a proclamation, the object of which is to bring to "immediate and condign punishment" all who may aid or succour the poor slave in his escape from his brutal master; and, it would farther appear, that both the army and the navy are to be employed to enforce its iniquitous provisions. Never were a great people, boasting the freedom of their institutions, the advanced state of their civilisation, and the high religious privileges which they enjoy, placed in so humiliating a position; and unless they speedily, by a great and unanimous effort, relieve themselves from its opprobrium, they will be regarded with scorn and detestation by the nations of Europe. For our part, deeply pained as we are at the present state of things in the United States, we do not despair. We believe that the time will come when the Southern despotism which now overrides both Houses of Congress, and rules the presidential chair, will be deposed, and the better principles and feelings of the North take its place. It is a melancholy spectacle, however, to find that the leading men, the statesmen, as they are termed, both of the North and South, with here and there a splendid exception, are bent upon the support and extension of slavery on the American Continent; and that these men are countenanced in their nefarious doings by the principal men among the clergy of the most influential denominations. The "higher law" of the Christian revelation is subordinated to the "Fugitive Slave Law" of Congress, by these "false shepherds;" and the display of the humanities of our nature, and the practice of Christian virtues, are declared to be crimes worthy of fines and imprisonment, alike by the pastors and politicians of the great Republic. The day of retribution, however, will come, when "the rod of the oppressor shall be broken," and they that have upheld it shall be "ashamed and confounded," and the weeping and toiling friends of freedom shall rejoice together, in the triumph of their principles and the fulfilment of their prayers.

If the present number of the *Reporter* had furnished space, we could have filled it up with the afflicting details of captured slaves, who, after having tasted for a longer or shorter period the sweets of liberty, have been suddenly thrown back again into all the degradation and horrors of slavery. Wretched creatures, how fearful a fate awaits them! The triumph and the vengeance of the infuriated slaveholder will be secured and satisfied to the uttermost by this law. No pity will be shown the poor slave who has dared to be free. He will be made a spectacle of suffering and terror, to deter others from a like attempt. The gloom, however, created by this sad state of things, is somewhat relieved by the circumstance, that Canada affords a secure shelter to the fugitive, if he can but reach its borders, and thither he repairs when hunted by his master, or pursued by the American officials; but then he has to face an inclement sky, often destitute of money and clothes, and often without knowing where he can obtain the means of support. In addition to the large number of coloured people previously congregated in Canada West, say from 25,000 to 30,000, upwards of 4,000 fugitives have sought refuge there since the Fugitive Slave Law has come into operation, and others are continually pouring into that land of freedom. To help them in their distress is a Christian duty, and the Secretary of the Anti-slavery Society, Mr. JOHN SCOBLE, will be happy to receive special contributions for this purpose, from the friends of humanity and freedom in this country.

In the elevation, social, mental and moral, of the great mass of fugitives from slavery, in Canada, the Christian philanthropists of this country have a great work to perform; and an appeal will shortly be made to them to support an Institution, in a central position, established for that purpose, the particulars of which will be communicated by circular. Its representative in this country is Mr. JOSIAH HENSON, a man in every respect worthy of the confidence of the public, from his known character for the last twenty years, the high testimonials he brings with him to this country, and his great and disinterested labours among his brethren, both as a minister of the Gospel, and as a practical philanthropist. We wish him all success in his truly Christian mission.

\*\* Our usual subscription list is pressed out through want of space, but will appear in our next.